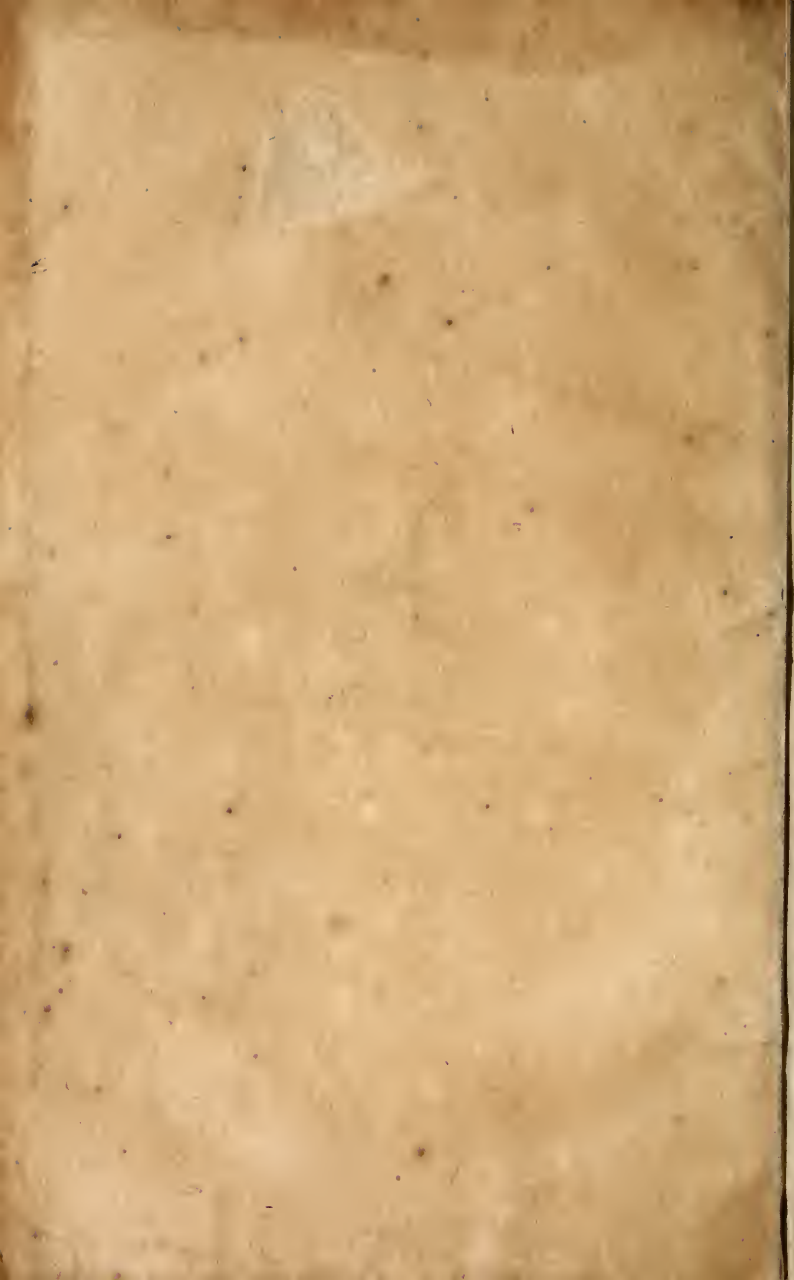


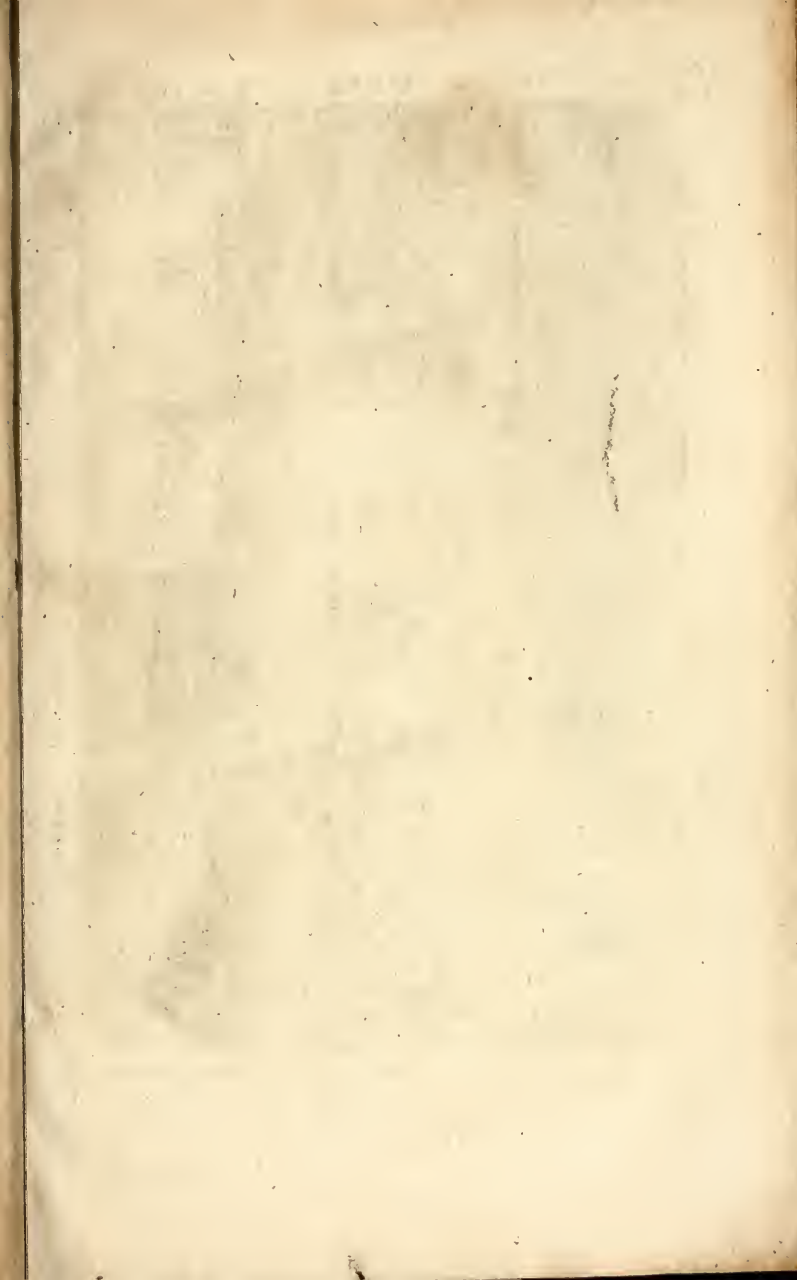


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TAM MARTI, QUAM MERCURIO.



The true Effigies of y^e Hon^{ble} S^r Walter Ramleigh Knight
F. H. van Hove. sculp.

THREE
DISCOURSES
OF
S^R. *Walter Raleigh.*

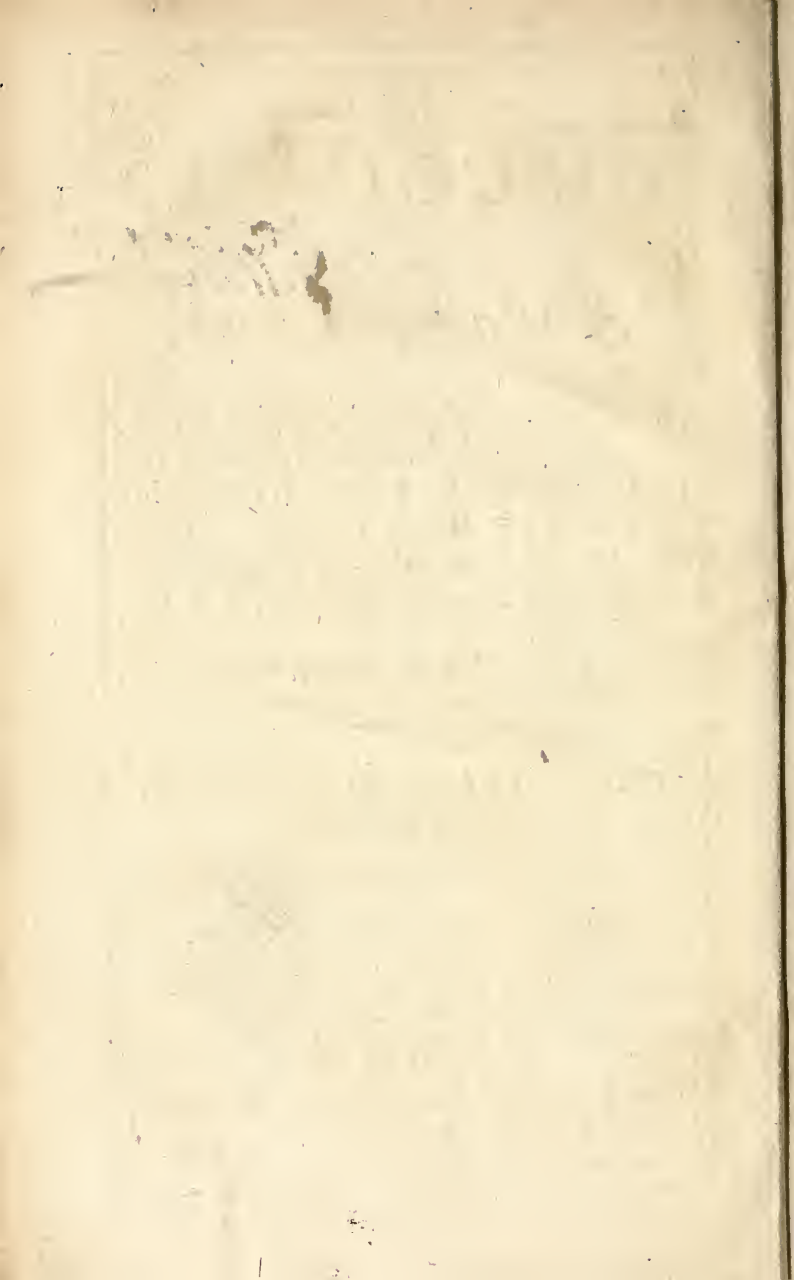
- I. Of a War with *Spain*, and our Protecting the *Netherlands*. Written by the Command of King *James I.* in the First Year of his Reign, 1602.
- II. Of the Original, and Fundamental Cause of Natural, Arbitrary, and Civil War.
- III. Of Ecclesiastical Power.

Published by *Phillip Raleigh*, Esq;
his only Grandson.

Sapiens uno minor est Jove, Horat.

LONDON,

Printed for *Benjamin Barker*, at the White
Hart in *Westminster-Hall*, 1702.



THE PREFACE.

These Discourses are made Publick by Philip Raleigh Esq; the only Surviving Grandson of the Author, Sr. Walter Raleigh. The Character of that Worthy Gentleman is such, that none, who know him, will question their being Genuine, when they are told, that He publishes them as such; and it is hoped that those Readers, to whom He is not known, will be satisfied of their being what they pretend to be, from the intrinsick evidence they carry along with 'em. It is only desired in their behalf, that they may not have the ill Fate their Author is said to have met with, of being Condemned without a fair Trial. It has
A 3 been

The Preface.

been thought, that if that Honourable Person had wanted a Pardon for some part of his Conduct, the great Merits of his former Services to the Crown, and to his Country, might have deserv'd it; and if the Reader should be of Opinion that these small Tracts of his are not throughout so Correct, as never to stand in need of an Excuse, he will be so just as to allow it for the sake of his other Works, which the World has received with so Universal an Applause. The Author is known to have been an able Minister, and General; and from a Person so Qualified, the Reader has good Reason to expect Just Notions concerning Affairs of State and of War. He has here represented in a very clear Light, the great Danger that would ensue to all Europe, and particularly to this Nation, from an Accession of the Netherlands, either to France, or to Spain,

The Preface.

Spain; and if the *Mischief* of their being joyned to either of these Powers, whilst their Interests were Opposite, appear'd so great, how much more Terrible must the Consequence be if their being thrown into that Scale, which, at this Juncture, carries the Weight of them both. The United Provinces have for this last Age been of great Moment in the Ballance of Europe; but it will be to no purpose to talk any longer of a Ballance, if those who hold the Scales, suffer these to fall under the Power of the United Crowns. It is hop'd that the following Discourses may be of some use towards enflaming that Zeal which is already kindled in the Breasts of all True English Men, and Protestants, for the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe, and the Defence of the Reformed Religion; and the Arguments which our Author makes

The Preface.

makes use of in favour of Holland will be of the greater Force, because, as much a Friend as he is to the States, he lies under no Suspicion of preferring their Interest to that of his own Countrey.

ADVERTISEMENT.

There are several Errors of the Press, but most of them so plain, that the Ingenious Reader need not be directed to them by an Errata.

A
DISCOURSE

Touching a

War with *SPAIN*,

And of the Protecting of the

NETHERLANDS.

May it please Your Majesty,

IT belongeth not to me to
Judge whether the King of
Spain hath done wrong to the
Netherlands, or whether the *Nether-*
lands have failed in Allegiance to-
wards the King.

B

The

The King pretending Absolute Sovereignty, they pretending a conditional Obedience.

But it seems to me without question, that both *Holland* and *Zealand* did of right belong to the Lady *Inquelin* of *Haynault*; who to save her own Life, was forced to relinquish her Estate, and that *Zupthen* and *Guelders* did as rightfully belong to the Duke of *Arnold*, who being Prisoner with that Duke of *Burgundy* that dyed before *Nance*, the said Duke intruded upon his Possession to the prejudice of *Adolfe* his Son and Lawful Successor.

But leaving their Quarrels to their own Consciences, whether it standeth with Your Majesty's safety to relinquish them, Yea, or No: is the Argument which I presume to offer to your Majesty's great Wisdom.

The

The *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, with the rest of the United Provinces (which altogether we call by the Name of *Netherlands*) are Your Majesty's near Neighbours, and most Industrious People ; they are near, and may with a blast of Wind, in Twenty four Hours depart their own Coasts and enter ours.

And a Poor Neighbours House set on fire, is to be better gaurded, or watched, than a great City afar off.

They are stronger by the situation of their Countries, strong in Cities, Marriners, and Shipping, by reason of the Country and fortify'd Towns, they are able to defend themselves ; and by reason of the multitude of their Ships, they are in a condition to offend others.

There are no People more Industrious in all things, or more provident.

vident. Witness these two Particulars ;

The first, That having in *Holland* neither Timber nor Iron, they Build more Ships and cheaper, than either *England* or *Spain*, which have plenty of both.

The second is, That whereas their Grounds are in effect all Pastures, and have no Wheat growing of their own, they not only serve themselves cheap ; but have us'd (when the Trade was open) to furnish both *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy* with the same Grain. Now whether it will stand with Your Majesty's safety to abandon a Nation so near, so strong, and so industrious will be the Question? I Answer, That for Your Majesty to leave the *Netherlands* to themselves, as they are consider'd strong, can bring no other danger to Your Majesty than is common to all Princes
that

that have strong Neighbours.

But if they cannot subsist of themselves, nor without their subjection to some other Prince, or State, they shall not be able to defend themselves; then the peril which may ensue is very likely, or rather assur'd to *Britain*. It is first therefore to be enquir'd, Whether they can subsist, or no? if they can, it is formerly answer'd; if they cannot; on what Prince they are likeliest to rely?

First, That they have means to defend themselme, Experince denies it; and that Experience is grounded upon good Reason: For as Your Majesty best knows it, as from the beginning of their Revolt, they have made Strangers to their Bodies, their Defenders; so are their own People altogether unapt for Soldiers: If they were otherwise, yet have their Estates now

such Dominion, as they can employ them otherways ; most part of their People are Mechanicks, and live by their Handy-crafts, their Crafts Men maintain their Trades, and Navigation produces their Revenues, which maintain their Wars. And tho' there have been certain Troops erected of *Frysons*, and out of other Island Parts ; yet these do rather serve to make up their Numbers, and furnish their Garrisons, than that they have us'd them in any important Service, or in the Field : So that the strength of their Armies have consisted for the most part, of *Englig*, *Scotch* and *French*.

○ If then, such be the composition of their Armies : It is first apparent, that they cannot defend themselves by their proper Forces ; and that they will rely and give themselves to one of those Princes ; viz. to the
the

the *English* (accounting now *England* and *Scotland* all one) or *French* ; or else return again in the end, to the Arch-Duke, or to the *Spanish* King.

The Reason why, they bind themselves to this choise is, Power and Neighbourhood, Your Majesty, and the *French* being best able, and the next adjoyning.

To expect succour from the *Germans*, or from other Princes which are remote, they cannot

First, Because those Princes have Dependance on the Emperor.

Secondly, Because they are not of Ability to maintain the Quarrel.

And Thirdly, and chiefly, Because their succour cannot come so far, being to March over Land, the Charge being double to all Armies that pass through the Territories of other Princes ; which

must either be able to master the Territories, or pass by safe Conduicts whether they March.

So great Armies, as shall master Countries the States needs not ; and the lesser will be always in danger to be cut off, or resisted. The Neighbouring Princes being more fearful of the *Spaniard's* Greatness, than careful of the States Amity.

But the *Netherlands* require often supply, and few in number, such Troops as may be Transported by Sea, in the *Netherlands* own Shipping, and at an easy rate, and in lesser time : For as *England*, *Scotland* and *France*, may supply them in Twenty four Hours.

So from any Prince or State else, they may be in coming over Land, Twenty four Weeks.

It is therefore likely, That if Your Majesty refuse them, they will offer themselves to the *French*,
or

or return to the *Spanish* Obedience, both which will bring equal danger to Your Majesties State.

The Reasons are many; but I will rehearse them in a few words, because Your Majesty can better judge by a word, then another can by a VOLUME.

There are Two ways, by which *England*, may be afflicted.

The one by Invasion, being put to the Defensive, in which we shall but cast Lots for our own Garments.

The other by Impeachment of our Trades: by which Trades all Commonwealths flourish, and are enrich'd.

Invaded or Impeach'd we cannot be but by Sea, and therefore that Enemy which is strongest by Shipping is most to be suspected and feared.

It

It is certain, the *Netherlands* are able to furnish more Ships of War and Mariners, than all *England* and *Scotland* can do, with greater facility, and in shorter time : What Advantages Your Majesty hath by the powerfulness of Your own Ships, the same Advantages are Answer'd by the *Netherlands* in their Numbers.

Who by reason of their long Wars with *Spain*, and diligent search over the World for Trade, are become the most orderly and best Disciplin'd Men of War by Sea in all *Europe*.

This great strength of Shipping, is not so much to be accounted of, if it were not in these Two Respects.

The one because it is so exceeding near us.

The other, because *Holland* and *Zealand* are situate between Us,
and

and our best Trades, which are all *Eastward*.

For our *Muscovia* Fleets, our Merchant Adventurers, our Companies of *Eastland*, and all which Trade through the *Sound*, from whence we have our Materials for Shipping, must pass by *Holland*.

And if those Trades were Impeach'd, all sorts of People would suffer together, and the Commonwealth fall into extream poverty and decay.

And whereas it may be Objected, That our *Muscovia* Fleet, and our Merchant Adventurers are of sufficient strength to make their own passage, and need not fear the force of the *Netherlands*. I confess, that, as they may pass; so they may perish.

But this is a general, and infallible Rule, in all the course of
Mer-

Merchrndze, That wheresoever the Adventure is great, and the profit little; the Adventurer will soon give up.

But if the *English Merchants* shall be driven to double *Man* their Ships, and furnish them with double Munition, and pay double Wages, then the Charge will be double to that which now it is; the Hazard will also be manifest, for the Reasons before alledg'd.

And that which will prove as great an Inconveniency as the rest, will be.

The great Price of *Merchandize* return'd from all these Burdens, will light upon the Buyer, and upon all sorts of People, in the End.

Example may be taken by the *Merchants of Civill in Spain*, when by reason of our scatering *Men of War* upon their Coasts in the *Indies*, did pay 20 per Cent. for Con-
voy :

voy. This new charge so impoverish'd the Merchants, that both the Banks of *Civill* broke, at the first misfortune that besel them, for little less than Twenty Millions.

There's a great difference between the strength of the *Netherlands*, and that of the *Spanish* King; when he maketh any great Armado, he's driven to take up, and imbarke in the Shipping of all Nations, some of his own, others from *Venice*, or *Ragusa*, others out of all the parts of the *Eastlands*, and from the *Hans* Towns, from the *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Lubikers* and *Bremers*.

These Ships are of divers Conducts, and divers Swiftnesses, so as they cannot either assail, or defend in gross, as the *English*, or *Netherlands* can.

The *Spanish* King is also constrain'd to press the Mariners of other Nations, as the *Italian*, *French*,
Flem-

Flemming and *Dutch*, to mingle with those of the *Spanish* Nation : When these come to any extremity, either by foul Weather, or by Fight ; the Confusion is infinite, and sometimes a Ship may be cast away by mistaking of a Rope : There cannot be found any Masters or Captains that can speak all these Languages ; and if they could, yet were it to little purpose ; for Men are directed at Sea, by multitude, not in a single Voice.

Furthermore, these Men that are of strange Nations, and are taken up by violence, fight with their Hands, but not with their Hearts ; they rather desire liberty than Victory, and rather seek to hide themselves, and save themselves thereby, then to hazard their lives in a Quarrel that neither appertains to them, their Princes, or their Country.

Lastly,

Lastly, When the *Spanish* King shall attempt any thing upon *England*, or *Ireland*, or any such remote Country : His Fleets are subject to great variety of Winds and Weather, and to many Storms, by reason whereof, the late great *Spanish* Admiral lost both his Enterprizes upon *England*: The last Fleet also that came for *Ireland*, was dispers'd and much broken ; and in the Year 1588, after the Duke of *Medina* was once beaten from the Narrow Seas, he lost the best part of his Fleet by Tempest.

On the contrary, the *Netherlands* have as many Ships of their own, as any Christian Prince hath, their Ships are of one fashion, conduct, and swiftness ; their Mariners of their own Nations, and Language ; Valiant and well order'd Men ; and, as it is said before, so near us, as they will be in our
Ports

Ports in a Summers Day : So no People so fitted by Art and Nature to annoy these Kingdoms as they.

It may perchance, be Objected, That when King *H. VIII.* had Wars with the Emperor *Charles V.* who was also Lord of the *Low Countries*, that the *English* received no prejudice by the main Ships of the *Netherlands* : It is true, and I my self remember, that within these Thirty Years, Two of Her Majesty's Ships would have Commanded One hundred Sail of theirs.

I remember also, when my self was a Captain in *Ireland*, that a Hundred Foot, and a Hundred Horse, would have beaten all the force of the strongest Provinces : But of late, I have known an *Easterling* Fight hand to hand with one of Her Majesty's Ships ; and that the *Irish* have in this last War overthrown with even, or a far less number.

The

The *Netherlands*, in those Days had wooden Guns, and the *Irish* had Darts, but the one is now furnish'd with as great a number of *English* Ordnance as our selves, and the other with as good Pikes and Muskets as *England* hath.

Of which War, I know no other profit arising, than the expence of Two Millions, the impoverishing of this Kingdom, and the Training and Arming of the *Irish*, who have now, and ever had, their Lands, and Lives restor'd when they have been brought to the last Gasps, and point of Subjection. And therefore if this truly be so of the former Government, *Stultum est eos invadere quos nequeant in officio retinere* ; 'Tis a foolish thing to assault those whom we cannot keep in subjection when overcome.

And a Council indeed far out of course, which doth neither re-
C tain

tain the mind, nor restrain the Mighty. But he that Governs by Discourse of former Times, shall but take counsel of the Dead; for the Natures of all things under the Sun are subject to change, but the nature of Reason only. And it is certain, that in the Times of alteration,

The wisdom of Nature is better than of Books; Prudence being a wise Election of those Things which never remain after one and the self same manner.

To Reason by comparison; and to prove by the Argument *a Minori ad Majus*, how much the Trade of *England* may be endanger'd by the *Netherlands*; Your Majesty may please to remember, that *Dunkirk* is but a Fishing Town, a bad Haven, and hath not above a dozen Sail of small Ships, before which Port also there is continually

ally maintain'd a strong Fleet of *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders* to restrain them so, as they can neither come forth, nor pass in, but in a dark Night for fear of their Enemies, and at a Spring-tide for want of Water; and it is true, that those few *Dunkirkers* have taken from the *West-Country* Merchants within two Years only, above Three thousand Vessels; besides all that they have gotten from the rest of the Ports of *England*, and from the *Netherlands*, insomuch as they have so impoverish'd all those *Western* Merchants, as their Trade in effect is utterly decay'd, and those People which were wont to be set at work by them, and did live in good sort, do now live by alms and begging.

If then one poor Town in *Flanders*, notwithstanding the Impediments before rehears'd, hath so much Impoverish'd Your Maje-

fty's Subjects ; What can *Holland* and *Zealand* do, who are able to set out fifty Sail of better Ships than those of *Dunkirk* are? If it be ask'd, What would be the consequence if they should join to Your Majesty's Enemies ; I shall answer as the Marshal *Biron* did to the *French King*, *Vous le savez mieux que moy* ; Your Majesty knows better than I.

Now, as the *Netherlands* may be us'd to impoverish Your Majesty's Dominions, by disturbing our Trades : So shall they be in Estate to assist the *Spanish King* upon any Invasion, and that so dangerously, as it can hardly be resisted ; for if the King of *Spain* shall prepare a Fleet in *Spain*, and therewith assail the *Western Ports*, and the *Netherlands* with their Fleet, and Army of the *Low-Countries*, undertake the Invading
our

our *Eastern* Parts at the same time, the greatest Fleets that *England* can make (if it be divided) will not be able to Encounter either.

Furthermore, if the *Netherlands* be with-held from the *Spanish* Obedience, Your Majesty hath but an Enemy of *Spain*; if You break with *Spain*, the Trade also is free and open to all Parts of the *East*; but if *Spain* recover the *Netherlands*, and then Quarrel with Your Majesty, You shall then find a strong War; and a strong restraint of Trade on both sides.

To all this, Your Majesty may justly say, That I speak upon suppositions only; and I confess it.

For First is not agreed on, That if Your Majesty leave the *Low-Country-Men*, that then they will receive the *Spanish* King, or the Arch-Duke.

Secondly, Tho' they do, that therefore it follows, that either of them will make War with Your Majesty.

What the *Netherlands* will do, they being rejected by *England*, I cannot determine ; it were presumption to speak, but only mention, what danger in likelihood may happen to *England* in the future.

For if the States do find, that they cannot subsist of themselves, and that Your Majesty refuse to protect them, then it is undoubted, but that Necessity (which inforceth all things) will also inforce them to choose a Master ; and a fit Master cannot be found for them, but in *England*, or in *France*, unless they return to the Old---

If they give themselves to *France*, it is worse for us, as I conceive.

If

If they submit themselves to the *Spanish King*, what he will do afterwards, *Is Occultius humana voluntate, Is a secret to us; and harder to discover, than the intention of a Man in a matter, before occasion offer'd to determine his Resolution.*

It is known to God only, what he may then do, is that which I presume to remember your Majesty of: And wo be to that Prince, or State who holds his Quiet by the will of another.

I have heard, That both the King, and the Arch-Duke will offer to Your Majesty Continuance of Peace: And I know they have good Cause to desire it: But, *Unde hæc de illis tanta modestia nisi Cognitione Virium nostrarum & suarum—*
But from whence comes this great Moderation and compliance, but only from the knowledge of our Strength, and
C 4
their

their own Weakness. And I am perswaded, Your Majesty may have better Conditions than ever King of *England* had.

But after the *Spaniard* shall have repair'd his Losses, I know not how Your Majesty may be assur'd of his Amity : For the Kings of *Spain* were not wont to keep either Promises, or Oaths longer than they may prove profitable to themselves ; *Cum principes utantur nomine pacis & fidei potius ad propriam commoditatem quam ad earum observationem*—For Princes make Promises and enter into Leagues chiefly for their own advantage ; and longer then they tend to that, they do not hold themselves oblig'd to observe them.

And especially the Kings of *Castile*, who have follow'd *Ferdinand* (the first Elector of that Monarchy, into greatness) both in Condition and Determination.

Which

Which *Ferdinand* the better to effect what he aspir'd unto, did forbear to break neither Oaths, nor Promises; respected neither Alliance, nor Kindred: witness his Treaties, and in them he folded up Treasons against the *Neapolitan* Prince his Cozen, and to whom also he marry'd his Sister, and to whose defence he sent *Gonsalvo* with an Army against the *French*, and with the same Army set upon the King at *Naples*, overthrew him, and divided his Kingdom (as Your Majesty best knows) with *Lewis XII.*

How he handled the *French* afterwards, and the *Venetians*; how he abus'd and betray'd his Son-in-law, King *Hen. VIII.* when he drew the *English* Army into *Biscay*, with promise to join with the *English* to recover the Dutchy of *Guienne*, while himself did by that colour Conquer *Navarre.*

Of

Of the like Practices, of his Successor, *Charles V.* it were needless to repeat to Your Majesty ; I have set it down at large, in *a Discourse how War may be made against Spain, and the Indies* ; which I will also present to Your Majesty, if You will vouchsafe the reading thereof. King *Philip* the last, had the same intent the rest of his Predecessors had ; and if the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* had not been the impediment, and his fond enterprizing of *France* and *England* at one time, he had put all *Europe* in great hazard e're this !

But it may be perswaded, That Your Majesty may Relieve the *Netherlands* under-hand, as the *French* do, or Her Majesty did in the beginning of their Revolt, for which, the King of *Spain* will not dare to Quarrel for the present ; for Princes must sometimes look through their

Fin-

Fingers, as well as poor Men. *Maximilian*, the King of the *Romans*, made a Peace with *Charles VIII.* of *France*, notwithstanding he had taken from him the Dutcheſs of *Britain*, to whom he was marry'd by Proxy, and rejected *Maximilian's* Daughter (a double and moſt intolerable Injury;) but ſuch a kind of Peace, which is apparently diſſembled, cannot laſt long; for as it was ſaid by *Annius*, *Prætor* of the *Latines* to the *Romans*, *Pacem ſi bonam dederitis & fidelim, ſit perpetua, ſi malam, haud Diuturna*— A juſt and reaſonable Peace may hold and continue; but one obtain'd through wicked Practices can never laſt long.

If a preſent Parley be propoſed, the queſtion is, Who ſhall receive the greateſt proffit by the Ceſſation?

The King of *Spain* is now ſo poor, as he imployed the *Jefuites* to beg

beg for him at every Church-door in Spain.

His Revenues are Mortgaged in such sort, as of Twentyfive Millions, he has but five Millions free ; his Ships are worn out, and Consumed, and his People in general exceeding poor.

He hath of late received many Affronts and Losses ; and in *Peru*, many of the chiefest and best Towns are recovered from him by the Natives.

And commonly when great Monarchies begin once in the least to decline, their dissipation will soon follow after.

The Spanish Empire hath been greatly shaken, and hath begun of late years to decline ; and it is a principle in Philosophy, That *Omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem*. That the least decay of any part, is a forerunner of the destruction of the whole. And

And tho' it may be a while upheld, as the State of *Rome* was by *Vespasian* and *Trajan*; yet following the former declination, *Retro statim sub-lapsa fertur usque dum plane sub-versa fuit*. It presently fell back again, and never left declining till the *Roman State* was utterly overthrown.

But if now the King of *Spain* can obtain Peace upon any Condition reasonable, so as he may fortifie his weakness, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again sufficient Riches, putting the English from the Exercise of War in those parts, and so make us to forget his *Indies*, till those be consumed that know them; he will soon grow to his former Greatness and Pride: and then if Your Majesty shall leave the *Low-Countries*, and he find us by our selves, it will not be long e're he remembers his old practices and attempts.

And

And Your Majesty having divers Nations and divers humors to content, he will not doubt to find a great advantage by our neglecting the reformed *Netherlands* abroad, and from the hardships the Roman Catholicks complain of at home.

Moreover this advantage the Spanish King shall ever have; that whensoever they shall think fit to make a pretence, may find a time once a Year to stay, and Confiscate a hundred Sail of our Merchants best Ships and Goods in his own Ports; and Your Majesty shall not find any of theirs in all *England*.

If then a Peace give him time to repair and fortifie himself, and encrease his Treasure, Your Majesty can have no assurance, but that when he is repaired he may take Your Majesty at all advantages.

The

The King being a Catholick, and a Child of the Pope's, he can never in any respect affect you, or any other Prince, or State of the reformed Religion.

It is very considerable, whether the way of War, or the way of Peace, were the way of Safety, yea or no; especially, as Peace may be dangerous, and the War profitable.

But for my own opinion (which is little worth) I do consent, that the *Netherlands* will not be drawn without a most forcible extremity to yield themselves to the *Spanish* King.

The King of *Spain* takes himself to be their Natural Lord; the injury which he conceiveth, hath been done him by the *Netherlands*, is an unquencheable Fire; for he hath been by them both wasted, prevented and dishonoured, and there-

therefore it will be hard to persuade these People to put their Necks under the *Spanish* Sword.

Marshal *Montluc* speaking of the death of *Castilian*, useth these words, *Nous pardons l'entendement, ne songeans pas, que les Roix ont plus de cœur que nous & qu'ils Oublient plutost les services que les offences.* We must excuse the inconsiderateness of those, who do not think, that Princes have a greater heart and stomach than we, and that they may forget a great many Services, but never one Injury.

Francis the II. never forgot the Tumult at *Amboise*.

Charles the IX. the Enterprize at *Meaux*.

Richard the II. of *England*, the Earl of *Arundel*, who forced him to take the Tower for Refuge.

It is not very likely that a King of *Spain*, will forget a Rebellion of Thirty Years continuance; in which he

he hath spent One hundred Millions of Duckets, lost so much Honour, and so many worthy Men; and if an accomodation were agreed on, betwixt the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, yet I cannot believe, that the *Netherlands* will think themselves secure upon any simple agreement, but that they will ever stand upon their Guards.

And if the *Spanish* King should require their assistance (at any time after Composition) against this Kingdom, yet they would be well abvised in this point, knowing right well that *England* is the Rampire and defence of their Estates, and cannot but believe, that although Your Majesty do not hastily enter into a War for them, yet your Majesty will always have an Eye to their subsistence.

Furthermore it will be very fearful to both sides, how they may
D trust

trust one another in joynt Forces, remembring this Precept, *Non utatur dux Militum opere nec persona offensi*, That Generals must not take into their service, the Persons of those that are disgusted.

Again, the States that have found the sweet of Commanding, will not easily make themselves Servants to the will of another.

And an Estate once establish'd, is not chang'd but by Violence.

The States have moreover banish'd and put from them all their Nobility, but very few poor ones, and have shar'd all their Inheritance among them; therefore they know if they render themselves to the *Spaniards*, those great Persons will be restor'd, and reveng'd; besides, where the Religion is in question, when the *Spaniards* will stand on so many Points of Honour; and the *Nether-*
lands

lands on so many Conditions of Safety ; the Dispute will not be ended in haste.

It is true, that the *French* are most observ'd to concern themselves, of all other, in this Affair ; for both Count *Maurice*, and such of the Nobility and Gentry that remain, are most addicted that way.

France is already one of the greatest Kingdoms in *Europe*, and our farthest Friend.

They know Your Majesty's Right to all, and to *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* without Dispute.

Your Majesty hath not now a Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Britain*, to assist You, as Your Predecessors had, *France* hath all Yours, and the Countries of *Provence*, *Anjou*, *Bourgundy* it self, and a great part of *Picardy* also ; and Your Majesty not so much as *Callice*, or any

place of strength of Your own , on that side, in Your possession.

It may be said, That Your Majesty shall have the assistance of the numerous Retormed *French*, if need require ; who are supposed to be Friends to *England*, because Enemies to the *Roman-Catholicks* : And it may be to get themselves good Conditions, these may move, they may agree for the beginning, but not for the End : *Newhaven* may put Your Majesty in mind, what may be hop'd from the *French*, of what Religion soever.

The advantage which Your Majesty hath over the *French* is only in Shipping.

If the *French* get the *Low-Countries*, that advantage is also lost.

And altho' it be probable, that the *Netherlands* will remember *Monsieur's* Attempts upon *Antwerp*, *Dunkirk*, and other places, after
he

he was Elected Duke of *Brabant* ; yet I hope shall never live to see the Day wherein the *French* shall be Masters of the *Netherlands* upon any Conditions ; for they may serve the *French* to infinite purposes, altho' they suffer them not, to be absolute in their Cities and fortifi'd Places.

For if the Army or the States shall march on the one side, and that of *France* on the other side, the Arch-Duke will soon be crush'd between them ; *France* having a good Title to *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c.

And then Your Majesty finding how dangerous it will be for Your Self, to suffer *France* to be the Master of the *Netherlands*, and so many Ships, and to possess so many of the *Inland* Provinces withall ; cannot for Your own safety sake assist the Arch-Duke, and

so whereas by assisting the *Netherlands*, Your Majesty might have made the War profitable, and by their Shipping commanded all the Trades in the World.

Then Your Majesty by taking part with the Arch-Duke, shall but waste Your self, and impoverish all Your People and Commonwealth.

But Your Majesty well knowing, that *Consilijis nulla res tam inimica est quam celeritas*. That nothing is so great an Enemy to Counsel, as too much haste; will as I think be first resolv'd, what the Estates will contribute towards the War upon Spain and the Indies.

Secondly, In what Places they will make the War in the Low-Countries; in Flanders or Dunkirk: That Your Majesty may thereby have equal profit, and that Your Majesty's People be not spoiled as heretofore.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, How Your Majesty shall be paid your great debts already owing.

And *Lastly*, How Your Majesty shall be assur'd both of the cautionary Towns, and of their assistance for the future, when Your Majesty shall further enable them; seeing by Your Majesty's late goodness they are already made so forcible; that as You are either driven to defend them, or to fear them; so Your Majesty may in some part be assur'd of their dependence.

Your Majesty will also understand how difficult a thing it is to be assur'd of the *Spanish* King, and the Arch-Duke.

If You abandon the *Netherlands*, how to free Your People from the *Inquisition* of *Spain*, enlarge their Trades, and be secur'd not to have Your Ships stay'd in his Ports at his pleasure. D 4 There

There are many Considerations which ought to forerun a War. *Possunt arma facile sumi sed eis sumptis Eorum difficilis est depositio.* 'Tis an easie matter to take up Arms and go to War, but to carry it on with that vigour and success as to obtain a happy conclusion is exceeding hazardous and difficult.

Your Majesty will further know the quantity of Your Treasure, and how a War may be as well supply'd as begun, *Prudens militum præfectus bellum sine pecunia non Constituat, quoniam ea si defuerit Difficillimum est Exercitum convenire aut conventum conservare.* A prudent Prince will consider his Treasure and Revenues before he goes to far; for if Money be wanting, 'tis impossible to get an Army together; or when they are so, to preserve them; for Money is the only Cord and Sinew that can draw Men into his service, or keep them fast when

when they are there: For Princes that think to be served for nought, will have their Business come to nothing.

There are many other provisions to be made towards the safe and honourable management of a War, which are not so soon gather'd together. 'Tis in vain to expect to see a Workman build a House before he hath materials; *Nullum movendum est bellum nisi ad illud paratis necessariis.* No body will engage in a War, before all things necessary to support and carry on that War, be provided.

The Affair is great, which Your Majesty is at present to consider of, and the greatest that ever King of *England* had; for the branches are many, and most weighty; the Eyes of all the World beholds your Majesty herein; and as Your Majesty shall deal like Your self; so shall Your Majesty be valu'd of all
Na-

Nations: If any perswade Your Majesty to pass it over slightly, he is ignorant and understands it not.

If any perswade Your Majesty to a hasty Conclusion for either part; I should suspect him to be more concern'd for his own, or some others, then for Your Majesty's Interest; and that he were partial to the one, or the other; for in every particular that shall be handled, many mischiefs may be folded up, which will not appear at the first; and on the contrary, much honour and great assurance of advantage may be only visible; *Sed quod interius malum tegunt principia, posteriora produnt.* But Evil then does us the most mischief, when it comes to us under the mask and disguise of Good; and the effects of a secret and undiscover'd danger are of all others the most fatal.

First in the Question of leaving,
or

or succouring the *Netherlands* ; Whether it shall be openly, or underhand, if at all ; what profit every way, and what assurance may be gotten to Your Majesty by aiding them, and what danger by leaving them.

If Your Majesty make Peace with *Spain*, what the Conditions shall be ; and how Your Majesty shall be assur'd of their faithful performance of them.

And these fold up in them many Considerations of no small Consequence ; and I hope your Majesty's prudent Determination for the advantage of *England* and *Europe*, will make your Wisdom so appear to the World, that it may be truly said, *Quam Mirabilis sit Copula Sapientiæ cum potentia : How admirable is the conjunction of Wisdom and Power.* And because it is also true, that *Nulli unquam Deus omnia*

dedit. That God never endu'd any one Man with all Things. Your Majesty must ease your Self in some part by the help of Council; for Sapientia argumentum in principe Nulum Majus, quam sapientum virorum consilio uti. For a Prince to adhere to the advice and counsel of wise Men, is the greatest argument of his own wisdom.

For my self, because I have presum'd thus far upon hope of your Majesty's gracious pardon, and favourable acceptance, being the meanest and unworthiest of all others I can say but this, *Si le sel un-conseil donne, Je ne'n fais refus pour personne. If a Counsel appears good and seasonable, it will not be refus'd for his sake that gives it.*

I dare not Write all I desire; for I know not to whose Hands these may come; this I beseech your Majesty to know, that it proceedeth

eth from an humble and faithful
Heart.

In this great business God direct
your Majesty's mind; *Agitur de Im-
perio Mundi. The Dispute is no less
then of the Government of the whole
World, as to us.* When the House
is built, it is ill mending the foun-
dation thereof.

God hath so blest your Majesty
in the situation of your Kingdoms,
that the growth of any of your
Neighbouring States depends up-
on your Majesty's Election, whom
you will aid and assist.

Your Majesty may propound
such necessary Conditions both to
the States, and the *Spanish* side, as
you may break with either upon
the Grounds both of Honour and
Reason.

Now

Now no Man in this Case, can assure his Council, or undertake to give Judgment of the Success; for according to *Aristotle*, *Omnia quæ veniunt in consultationem talia sunt, qualia possint aliter accidere.* Every thing that comes under deliberation is of such an uncertain Condition and Nature, that Things may happen quite different from what the wisest Man could foresee.

But if your Majesty be not affectionate to either Party, then no doubt, but your Majesty will follow the way which appeareth to be most safe, most profitable, and most honourable.

And whosoever loveth your Majesty, will not only wish it, but withal present the little talent of his knowlege therein; for, *non tantum qui mutat Locum, sed fugit qui se sub silentio*

tio abscondit. For he that will be silent when he might declare and publish what may prove useful to your Majesty's Government, does as much decline Your Service, as he that flies Your Kingdoms.

F I N I S.

in which the Government, does as much de-
sire Your Service, as the fact that
what may prove useful to your Ma-
jesty, shall be right done and published
in which the Government will be



F I W I S

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
ORIGINAL
AND
Fundamental Cause
OF

Natural, Arbitrary, Necessary and
Unnatural W A R.

Written by
Sir *WALTER RALEGH*, Knt.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *B. Barker* at the *White-
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DISCOGRAPH

OF THE

ORIGINAL

AND

Fundamental

OF

General Principles of the
Science of the Mind

OF THE

THEORY OF THE MIND

OF THE

THEORY OF THE MIND

A
DISCOURSE
OF
War in General.

THE ordinary Theme and Argument of History is War ; which may be defin'd the Exercise of Violence under Sovereign Command, against Withstanders Force, Authority and Resistance ; being the Essential parts thereof: Violence limited by Authority, is sufficiently distinguished from Robbery, and the like Outrage ; yet consisting in relation towards others, it necessarily requires a supposition of Resistance ; whereby the force of War

becomes different from the Violence inflicted upon Slaves or yielding Malefactors. As for Arms, Discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of War prosperous, they are only considerable in degree of Perfection. Since naked Savages fighting disorderly with Stones, by appointment of their Commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to War; nevertheless, 'tis true, that the Beasts are armed with fierce Teeth, Paws, Horns, and other bodily Instruments, of much advantage to unweapon'd Men: So hath Reason taught Man to strengthen his Hand with such offensive Arms as no Creature else can well avoid, or possibly resist. And it might seem happy if the Sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of Death, could be wholly imploy'd in the

ex-

exercise of that Lordly Rule which the Lord of all hath given to Mankind over the rest of living things. But since in Human Reason there hath no means been found of holding all Mankind at Peace within it self: 'Tis needful that against the Wit and Subtilty of Man, we oppose not only the brute force of our Bodies (wherein many Beasts exceed us) but helping our Strength with Art and Wisdom, strive to excel our Enemies in those Points, wherein Man is excellent over other Creatures.

The necessity of War, which among human Actions, is the most Lawless, hath some kind of affinity and near resemblance with the necessity of Law: For there were no use either of War, or of Law; if every Man had Prudence to conceive how much of Right were due both to and from

himself; And were withal so punctually just as to perform what he knows requisite, and to rest contented with his own: But seeing our Conveyances of Land cannot be made so strong by any skill of Lawyers, without multiplicity of Clauses and Provisoos, that it may be secure from Contentions, Avarice, and the malice of false seeming Justice; it is not to be wondred that the great Charter whereby God bestow'd the whole Earth upon *Adam*, and confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as brief in words, as large in effect; hath bred much Quarrel of Interpretation.

*Gen. cap.
1. ver. 28.*

Surely, howsoever the letter of that Donation may be unregarded by the most of Men; yet the sense thereof is so imprinted in their Hearts, and so passionately embrac'd by their greedy desires; as

if

if every one laid claim for himself, unto that, which was conferr'd upon all.

This appear'd in the *Gauls* falling upon *Italy* under their Captain *Brennus*, who told the *Roman* Ambassador plainly, *That prevalent Arms were as good as any Title. And that Valiant Men might account to be their own, as much as they could get: That these wanting Land were with to sustain their People, and the Tatienses having more than enough; it was their meaning, to take what they needed by strong hand, if it were not yielded quietly.*

Now if it be well affirm'd by Lawyers, that there is no taking of Possession more just then in *Vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land uninhabited (as our Countrymen have lately done in the *Sommer Islands*) then may it be inferr'd, that this demand of the *Gauls* held more of

Reason than could be discern'd at the first view.

For if the title of Occupiers be good in Land unpeopled; why should it be bad accounted, in a Country Peopled over thinly? Should one Family, or one Thousand hold possession of all the *Southern* undiscover'd Continent, because they had seated themselves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the Straights of *Magellane*? Why might not then the like be done in *Affrick*, in *Europe*, and in *Asia*? If these were most absurd to imagine, let then any Man's Wisdom determine by lessening the Territory, and increasing the number of Inhabitants; what proportion is requisite to the Peopleing of a Region in such manner, that the Land shall neither be too narrow for those whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude? Un-
til

til this can be concluded and agreed upon, one main and fundamental cause of the most grievous War, as can be imagin'd, is not like to be taken from the Earth.

It was perhaps enough in Reason, to succour with Victuals and other helps a vast multitude compell'd by necessity to seek a new Seat, or to direct them to a Country able to receive them. But what shall persuade a mighty Nation to Travel so far by Land or Sea, over Mountains, Desarts, and great Rivers with their Wives and Children, when they are (or think themselves) powerful enough to serve themselves nearer hand, and enforce others unto the labour of such a Journey: * I have briefly shewed in another Gen. Hist. lib. 2. c. 2. Work, that the Miseries accompanying this kind of War, are most extream: Forasmuch, as the

the Invaders cannot otherwise be satisfy'd then by rooting out, or expelling the Nation upon whom they fall.

And altho' the uncertainty of the Tenure by which all Worldly Things are held, ministers very unpleasant meditation; yet it is most certain, that within 1200 Years last past, all, or the most part of Kingdoms to us known, have truly felt the Calamities of such forcible Transplantations; being either overwhelm'd by new Colonies that fell upon them, or driven as one Wave is driven by another to seek new Seats, having lost their own.

Our *Western* parts of *Europe* indeed, have great cause to rejoice, and give praise to God, for that we have been free above 600 years from such Inundations as were those of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; yea, from such as were those of our own

An-

Ancestors, the *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Normans* : But howsoever we have together with the feeling, lost the memory of such wretchedness as our Forefathers endur'd by those Wars (of all others the most cruel;) yet are there few Kingdoms in all *Asia*, that have not been ruin'd by such overflowing multitudes within the same space of these last 600 Years.

It were an endless labour to tell, how the *Turks* and *Tartars* falling like Locusts upon that Quarter of the World, having spoil'd every where, and in most Places eaten up all by the roots, consuming (together with the Princes formerly Reigning and a world of People) the very Names, Language, and Memory of former Times. Suffice it, that when any Country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it; there is a natural necessity

sity compelling it to disburden itself, and lay the load upon others, by right, or wrong; for (to omit the danger of Pestilence, often visiting them which live in Throngs) there is no misery that urgeth Men so violently unto desperate Courses and contempt of Death, as the torments and threats of Famine: Wherefore the War that is grounded upon this general remediless Necessity, may be term'd, the general and remediless, or necessary War.

Against which, that our Country is best provided, as may be shewed hereafter, then any Civil Nation to us known, we ought to hold it a great Blessing of God, and carefully retain the Advantages He hath given us now.

Besides, this remediless, or necessary War, which is not frequent; there is a VVar voluntary

ry

ry and customable, unto which the offended Party is not compell'd: And this Customary War, which troubleth all the World, giveth little respite or breathing time of Peace; and doth usually borrow pretence from the Necessity, to make it self appear more honest; For covetous Ambition thinking all too little which at present it hath, supposeth it self to stand in need of all, which it hath not.

Wherefore, if two bordering Princes have their Territories meeting in an open Campaign, the more mighty will continually seek occasion to extend his Limits to the further border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountains, they will fight for the mastery of the Passage of the Tops, and finally for the Towns that stand upon the Roots.

If

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges ; and think themselves not well assur'd, until they have fortify'd the further Bank.

Yea, the Sea it self must be very broad, barren of Fish, and void of little Islands interjacent ; else will it yeild plentiful argument of Quarrel to the Kingdoms which it serveth ; all this proceeds from desire of having ; and such desire, from fear of VVant.

Hereunto may be added, That in these Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found some small measure of Necessity, tho' it seldom be observ'd ; perhaps, because it extendeth not so far as to become publick : For where many younger Sons, of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor Means to uphold themselves ; and where

where many Men of Trade, or useful Profession, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Employ, there can it not be avoided, but that the whole Body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully dispo'd) should suffer anguish by the grievance of these ill-affected Members.

It sufficeth, not that the Country hath wherewith to sustain even more than lives upon it, if means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient participation of the general Store into a great number of well Deservers.

In such Cases, there will be Complaining, Comiseration, and finally murmure (as Men are apt to lay the blame of those Evils whereof they know not the ground upon publick misgovernment) unless order be taken for some redress by the Sword, of In-
jury

jury suppos'd to be done by Foreigners; whereto the Discontented sort give commonly a willing ear: And in this regard, I think it was, that the great Cardinal, *Francis de Amiens*, who govern'd *Spain* in the minority of *Charles V.* hearing tell, that 8000 *Spaniards* were lost in the Enterprise of *Algiers*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the matter, affirming, That *Spain* stood in need of such evacuations. Foreign War, serving as (King *Ferdinand* had wont to say) like a potion of *Rhubarb* to waste away Choller from the body of the Realm.

Certainly, among all Kingdoms of the Earth, we shall scarce find any that stand in less need than *Spain* of having the Veins open'd by an Enemy's Sword: The many Colonies it sends abroad, so well preserving it from swelling Humours; yet is not that Country there-

thereby dispeopled ; but maintaineth still growing upon it (like a Tree from whom Plants have been taken to fill whole Orchards) as many as it can well nourish.

And to say what I think ; if our King *Edward III.* had prospered in his *French Wars*, and Peopled with *English* the Towns which he won, as he began at *Callice*, driving out the *French* ; the Kings (as his Successors) holding the same course, would by this time have filled all *France* with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Island.

The like may be affirm'd upon like suspicion, of the *French* in *Italy*, or almost of any others ; as having been verifi'd by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbary* : What is then become of so huge a multitude, as would have overspread a great part of the Con-
F
tinent ?

tinent ? Surely, they dyed not of
 Old-age ; nor went out of the
 World by the ordinary ways of
 Nature ; but Famine and Conta-
 gious Distempers, the Sword, the
 Halter ; and a Thousand mis-
 chiefs have consum'd them. Yea,
 of many of them, perhaps, Chil-
 dren were never born ; for they
 that want means to nourish Chil-
 dren, will abstain from Marriage ;
 or (which is all one) they cast a-
 way their Bodies upon rich old
 Women ; or otherwise make un-
 equal, or unhealthy Matches for
 gain ; or because of Poverty, they
 think it a Blessing, which in Na-
 ture is a Curse, to have their
 Wives barren.

Were it not thus ; Arithmeti-
 cal Progression might easily de-
 monstrate how fast Mankind would
 encrease in multitude overpassing
 (as miraculous, tho' indeed natu-
 ral)

ral) the Examples of the *Israelites*, who were multiplied in 215 Years from 70, unto 600000 able Men; hence we may observe, that the very progression of our Kind, hath with it a strong incentive even of those daily Wars which afflict the whole Earth. And that Princes excusing their drawing the Sword, by devised pretences of Necessity, speak often more truly than they are aware; there being indeed a great necessity, tho' not apparent, as not extending to the generality; but resting upon private Heads.

Wherefore other Cause of War, merely natural there is none: The want of room upon the Earth, which pincheth the whole Nation, begets the remidiless War vexing only some number of particulars, it draws on the Arbitrary; But to the the kindling of Arbitrary VVar there are many other motives.

tives. The most honest of these, is fear of harm, and prevention of Danger ; this is just and taught by Nature, which labours more strongly in removing Evil, then in pursuit of what is requisite unto Good : Nevertheless, because VVar cannot be without natural Violence ; it is manifest, that allegation of Danger, and Fear, serves only to excuse the suffering party ; the wrong-doer being carry'd by his own will ; so that VVar thus caused proceeds from Nature not altogether, but in part.

A second motive, is revenge of injury sustain'd, this might be avoided, if all Men could be honest, otherwise not ; for Princes must give Protection to their Subjects and Adherents ; when worthy occasion shall require it ; else they will be held unworthy and insufficient ; then which, there
can

can be to them no greater peril.

Wherefore *Cæsar* in all deliberations where difficulties, and dangers threatned on one side, and the Opinion, that there should be in him *parum præsidij* little safeguard for his Friends was doubted on the other side, always chose rather to venture upon extremities, than to have it thought that he was a weak Protector: Yea, by such maintenance of their Dependants, many Noblemen in all Forms of Government, and within every Man's Memory have kept themselves in greatness with little help of any other Virtue.

Neither have meer Tyrants, been altogether careless to maintain free from Oppression of Strangers, those Subjects of theirs, whom themselves have most basely esteem'd, and used as no better than Slaves; for there is no

Master that can expect good Service from his Bondslaves, if he suffers them to be beaten and daily ill-entreated by other Men. To remedy this, it were needful that Justice should every where be duly administred, as well to Strangers as to Denizens. But contrariwise, we find ; That in many Countries (as *Muscovy*, and the like) the Laws, or the Administration of them is so far from giving satisfaction, to strangers as they fill the general Voice of them with Complaints and Exclamations.

Sir *Thomas Moor*, said (whether more pleasantly or truly, I know not) *That a Trick of Law, had no less power than the Wheel of Fortune, to lift Men up, or to cast them down.*

Certainly, with more patience Men are wont to endure the Loss that befall them by mere Casualty,
than

than the damage they sustain by means of injustice, because these are accompanied with sense of indignity, whereof the other are free : When Robbers break into a Mens Houses and spoil them, they tell the Owners plainly, That Money they want, and Money they must have. But when a Judge corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other Passion takes both House and Land from the rightful Owner, and bestows them upon some Friend of his own, or of his Favorite, he says, That the Rule of Justice will have it so ; that it is the Voice of the Law, and Ordinance of God himself : And whatelse herein doth he, then by a kind of Circumlocution, tell his humble Suppliants, that he holds them Ideots, or base Wretches, not able to get relief : Must it not astonish and withal

vex any Man of a free Spirit, when he sees none other difference between the Judge and the Thief, then in the manner of performing of their Exploits ; as if the whole being of Justice consisted in point of Formality. In such case, an honest Subject will either seek remedy by ordinary Courses, or wait his time, till God shall place better Men in Office, and call the Oppressors to account. But a Stranger will not so ; he hath nothing to do with the Affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him, what Officers be placed, or displaced in *Taradante* ; or whether *Mulissidian* himself can contain the Kingdom ; his Ship and Goods are unjustly taken from him ; and therefore he will seek leave to right himself if he can ; and return the Injury ten-fold upon the whole Nation from which he received it.

Truth

Truth is, that Men are sooner weary to dance attendance at the Gates of foreign Lords, than to tarry the good leisure of their own Magistrates ; nor do they bear so quietly the loss of some parcel confiscate abroad, as the greater detriment which they suffer by some prowling Vice-Admiral, Custom-er, or publick Minister at their return.

Whether this proceed from the Reverence which some Men yield to their Governors, I will not define ; or whether excess of trouble in following their Causes from Home ; or whether some despair of such redress as may be expected in their own Country, in the hoped reformation of Disorders ; or whether from their more unwillingness to disturb the Domestical, then the Foreign Quiet by loud Exclaimings ; or whether, per-
haps

haps their not daring to mutter against their own Rulers for Injustice (tho' it were shameful) for fear of faring worse, and for being punish'd for *Scandalum magnatum*, as Scandalers of Men in Authority : Whencesoever it comes, as there can be but one Allegiance; so Men are apt to serve no more than they needs must; according to that of the Slave, in the old Comedy, *Non sum servus publicus. My Master bought me for himself; and I am not every Man's Man.* And this Opinion, there is no Prince unwilling to maintain in his own Subjects; yea, such as are most rigorous to their own; do never find it safe to be better unto Strangers, because it were a matter of dangerous Consequence, that the People should think all other Nations to be in a better case than themselves.

The

The brief is, Oppression in many places, wears the Robe of Justice; which domineering over the Natives, may not spare Strangers; and Strangers will not endure, but cry out unto their own Lords for relief by the Sword. Wherefore this motive of revenging Injuries is very strong, tho' it meerly consist in the Will of Man, without any enforcement of Nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is usually concurring with it a hopeful expectation of Gain; for of the amends recover'd, little or nothing returns to those that have suffer'd the Wrong; but commonly all runs into the Princes Coffers.

Such Examples, as was that of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1569. of famous Memory, are very rare; Her Majesty, when the Goods of our *English* Merchants were attack'd by the Duke of

of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, and by King *Philip* in *Spain*; Arrested likewise the Goods of the *Low-Dutch*, here in *England*, that amounted to a greater value : Neither was She contented that Her Subjects should right themselves, as well as they

Anno 1573.

could upon the *Spaniards* by Sea ; but having brought King *Philip* within 4 or 5 Years to better reason, tho' not so far as to Restitution ; She satisfy'd her own Merchants to the full for all their Losses, out of the *Dutchmens* Goods ; and gave back to the Duke what was remaining.

This, among many Thousands of her Royal Deeds, made her Glorious in all Nations ; tho' it caused even Strangers in their Speeches and Writings, to extoll her Princely Justice to the Skyes ; yet served it not for a President for others of less Vertue to follow.

It

It were more costly to take pattern from those Acts which gave immortal Renown to that great Queen, then to imitate the thirsty dealing of that *Spanish* Duke in the self same business, who kept all to his own use, or his Master's, restoring to the poor *Dutch* Merchants not one Penny: It falls out many times indeed, that a Prince is driven to spend far more of his Treasure in punishing by War the Wrongs of his People, than the loss of his People do amount unto. In such Cases, it is reason that he satisfy himself, and let the People (whereto commonly they are apt) rest contented with the sweetness of Revenge.

But when Victory makes large amends for all, it Royally becomes a Prince to satisfy those, for whose satisfaction he undertook the War: Far besides the purpose it were now, to teach how Victory should
be

be used; or the Gains thereof communicated to the general content; this being only brought into shew, That the profit thereby gotten, is a strong provocation to the redress of Injuries by the Sword.

As for the redress of Injuries done unto Princes themselves, it may conveniently (tho' not always, for it were miserable Injustice to deny leave to Princes of maintaining their Honour) be reserv'd unto the third motive of Arbitrary Wars; which is meer Ambition.

This is, and ever hath been the true cause of more Wars, than have troubled the World upon all other Occasions whatsoever; tho' it least partake of Nature, and urgent necessity of State. I call not here alone by the name of Ambition, that Vain-glorious Humour, which openly professeth to be none other

other, and vaunts it self as an imperial Virtue ; for the Examples are not many of that kind : But where occasion of War is greedily fought, or being very slight is gladly entertain'd, for that increase of Dominion is hoped thereby ; we should rather impute the War to the Scope at which it aimeth, than to any idle Cause pretended.

The *Romans* feared, lest they of *Carthage* by winning *Messina*, should soon get the Mastery over all *Sicily*, and have a fair entrance at pleasure into *Italy* ; which to prevent, they made War upon the *Carthaginians* : This Fear, I call Ambition ; had they not trusted in their own Arms, hoping thereby to enlarge their Empire ; but being weaker and more affraid indeed, they would have feared less.

For

For Colour of this War, they took the *Mamertines*, a Crew of Thieves and Cut-throats into their Protection, whom being their Associates, they must needs defend; but had not their Ambition been mightier then their Justice, they would have endeavour'd to punish the *Mamertines*, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like Examples; *Know ye not* (said *Ahab*) *that Ramoth-gilead is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his Forces made him look unto his Right: And of this nature (tho' some worse then other in degree) are Claims of old forgotten Tribute; or of some Acknowledgments, due perhaps, to the Ancestors of a vanquish'd King, and long after challeng'd by the Heirs of the Conqueror. Broken Titles to Kingdoms or Provinces;

main-

tainance of Friends and Partizans, pretended Wrongs, and indeed, whatsoever it pleaseth him to alledge, that thinks his own Sword sharpest. But of old time, perhaps, before *Hellen* of *Greece* was born, Women have been the common Argument of the Tragedies; as of late Ages in our Parts of the World, since the Names of the *Guelfes* and *Ghibelines* were heard, the Rights of *St. Peter*, that is, the Pope's Revenues and Authority; this last and others of the same kind, I know not how patiently they will endure to be ranged amongst ambitious Quarrellers; for the War that hath such Foundations, will not only be imputed free from worldly Ambition, just and honourable, but holy and meritorious, having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Release from Purgatory, and the Promise of the

G Life

Life to come, as may be seen in the Pope's *Croisada*.

The Truth is, that the *Saracens* affirm no less of the Wars which they make against Christians, or which arise betwixt themselves from difference of Sect, and if every Man had his Due, I think, that the Honour of devising first this Doctrine, (*viz.*) That Religion ought to be enforced upon Men by the Sword, would be found appertaining to *Mahomet*, the false Prophet. Sure it is, that he and the *Caliphs* following him, obtained thereby in short space a mighty Empire, which was in a fair way to have enlarged it self until they fell out amongst themselves, not for the Kingdom of Heaven, but for Dominion upon Earth: And against this did the Popes, when their Authority grew powerful in the *West*, incite the Princes of Ger-
many

many, *England, France, and Italy*; their chief Enterprize was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*, in which worthy, but extream difficult Action, it is lamentable to remember, what abundance of noble Blood hath been shed with very small Benefit to the Christian State.

The Recovery of *Spain*, whereof the better part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*, had been a Work more available to the Men of *Europe*, more easily maintained with Supply, more aptly serving to advance any following Enterprize upon Kingdoms further removed, more free from Hazard, and requiring less Expence of Blood; but the honourable Piety of the Undertakers, could not be terrify'd by the Face of Danger, nor diverted from this, to a more commodious Business, by any Motives of Profit or Facility; for the

Pulpit did found in every Church with the Praises of that Voyage ; as it were a Matter far less highly pleasing unto God, to bear Arms for Defence of his Truth against Persecutors, or for the Deliverance of poor Christians oppressed with Slavery ; than to fight for that self same Land, wherein our Blessed Saviour was born and died. By such Perswasions, a marvellous Number were excited to the Conquest of *Palestina*, which with singular Virtue they performed ; tho' not without exceeding great Loss of Men, and held that Kingdom some few Generations.

But the Climate of *Syria*, the far distance from the Strength of Christendom, and the near neighbourhood of those who were the most puissant amongst the *Mahometans*, caused that famous Enterprize, after a long continuance of a
ter-

terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The Care of *Jerusalem* being laid aside, it was many times thought needful to repress the growing Power of the *Turk*, by the joint Forces of all the Christian Kings and Commonwealths ; and hereto the Popes have used much Perswasions, and often published in their *Croisada*, with Pardon of Sins to all that would adventure in a Work so religious, yet have they effected little or nothing, and less perhaps are ever like to do ; for it hath been their Custom so shamefully to misuse the fervent Zeal of Men to religious Arms, by converting the Moneys which they have levied for such Wars to their own Services, and by stirring up Christians one against another, yea, against their own natural Princes, under the like pretence of serving God

and the Church ; that finally, Men waxed weary of their turbulent Spirits, and would not believe that God was careful to maintain the Pope in his Quarrels, or that Remission of Sins past, was to be obtained, by committing more, and more grievous, at the Instigation of his suspected Holiness.

Questionless, there was great Reason, why all discreet Princes, should beware of yielding hasty Belief to the Robes of Sanctimony,

It was the Rule of our Blessed Saviour, *By their Works ye shall know them* : What the Works of those that occupy the Papacy have been since the Days of *Pippin* and *Charlamaine*, who first enabled them with temporal Donation (the *Italian* Writers have testified at large) yet were it needless to recite *Machiavel* who hath recorded their Doings,

Doings, and is therefore the more hateful; or *Guiccardine*, whose Works they have guelded, as not enduring to hear all that he hath written; tho' he spake enough in that which remains.

What History shall we read (except the Annals of *Cæsar Baronius*, and some Books of Fryars and Fryerly Parasites) which mentioning their Acts, doth not leave Witnesses of their ungodly Dealings in all Quarters.

How few Kingdoms are there (if any) wherein by dispensing with Oaths, transferring the Right of Crowns; absolving Subjects from Allegiance; and Cursing; and threatning to Curse; so long as their Curses were regarded, they have not wrought unprofitable Mischiefs?

The Shameless denial hereof by some of their Friends, and the

more shameless Justification by their Flatterers makes it needful to exemplify which I had rather forbear as not loving to deal in such contentious Arguments, were it not Folly to be modest in uttering what is known to all the World : Pity it is, that by such Demeanour they have caused the Church (as *Hierom Savanarolla*, and before him, *Robert Grossthead*, Bp. of *Lincoln* prophesy'd) to be propagated by the Sword ; but God would have it so.

How far the Pope's Blessing did sanctify the Enterprize upon *Jerusalem*, it rests in every Man's Discretion to judge.

And for the honourable Christians which undertook that Conquest, to justifie their War, they had not only the Redress of Injuries, and Protection of their oppressed Brethren, but the repelling
of

of Danger from their own Land, threatned by those Misbelievers whom they Invaded.

If the Pope's Extortions (which were not more forcible than those of *Peter* the Hermit's) added Spirit unto the Action, yet alter'd they not the Grounds of the War, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of Pope *Leo* the 10th. bear Witness of this, who out of politick Fear of the *Turks* Violence, urged a religious Contribution towards a War to be made upon them; the Necessity of that which he propounded, was greater doubtless, than any that had perswaded the Conquest of *Palestina*.

But too foul and manifest was the unholiness of obtruding upon Men Remission of Sins for Money; That the Sums which Pope *Leo* thereby raised and converted to his own Use, have made his Successors

sors Losers by the Bargain, even to this Day.

Pope *Pius* II. formerly well known by the Name of *Æneius Sylvius*, was deservedly reckoned amongst the few good Popes of latter Ages; who nevertheless in a War of the same religious Nature, discovered the like (tho' not the same) Imperfection: His Purpose was to set upon *Mahomet* the great, who had newly won the Empire of *Constantinople*, and by carrying the War over into *Greece*, to prevent the Danger threatening *Italy*.

In this Action highly commendable, he intended to hazard his own Person, that so the more easily he might win Adventurers, who else were like to be less favoured, as not unacquainted with such *Romish* Tricks; yet was not his own Devotion so zealous in pursuit of this holy Business, but that he
would

would stay a while, and convert his Forces against *Malatesta*, a Lord of *Rimini*; letting *Scanderberg* wait his leisure, who had already set the War on foot in *Greece*; For (said he) *We must first subdue the little Turk, before we meddle with the Great*; he spake Reason, if we regard Policy. But attending only to Religion, find we not that he held the Chastisement of one which molested the See of *Rome*, alike pleasing to God, as would have been the Holy War against the common Enemy of our Christian Faith; so thought all the rest of those Bishops, and so much more (upon their several Occasions) declare themselves to think it, by how much they commonly were worse Men than this *Æneas Sylvius*. And good Reason was there, that they should be of such Belief, or endeavour to make the Christian World

World believe no otherwise, for the natural Constitution of their Estate (I mean since the Age of *Pipin* and *Charlamain*, or the Times not long before-going) hath urged them all hitherto; tho' peradventure some few Popes may have been overuled, by their own private Nature, and thereby have swerved from the Rule of Policy.

To speak in general, Whosoever hath Dominion absolute, over some one Authority; less absolute over many more; will seek to draw those that are not wholly his own, into intire Subjection.

It fares with politick Bodies, as with physick; each would convert all into their own proper Substance, and cast forth as Excrements, what will not be changed.

We need not cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perseus*, Kings of *Mace-*

Macedon, for Examples ; of which the former brought the *Thessalonians* ; the latter, would have brought the *Achaians*, and many Estates in *Greece* from the Condition of Followers, and Dependants, into meer Vassalage.

Philip II. of *Spain* is yet fresh in mind, who attempted the self same upon the *Netherlands*.

Exceptions may be framed here against this, out of the honest, quiet, or timorous Disposition of some Princes ; yet that all, or the most, are thus inclined, both Reason and Experience teach ; yea, even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, such as need the Protection of great Men, complain otherwhiles of their Patrons overmuch Diligence, either in searching into their private Estates ; or behaving themselves Master-like in Point of Government. But never
hath

hath Authority better Means to enlarge it self, than when it is founded upon Devotion : And yet never doth Authority of this kind Work to raise it self upon meer Domination ; until it fall into the hands of those, whose Piety is more in seeming , than in Deed.

O F
UNNATURAL
WAR.

THE last kind of War we shall treat of, is the *Unnatural*, otherwise called the *Intestine*, or *Civil War*; and tho' it has the same Motives of Ambition, Avarice, or Revenge, as the Arbitrary and Customary War, yet is of a quite different Nature, and must be otherwise defined; for that is to use Arms to redress Injuries, to Conqueror, oppose Strangers under Sovereign Authority. But this is to slay and oppress our Countrymen,

men, our Friends, and even our own Relations without Injury offer'd tho' pretended to gratify some exorbitant Passion upon the Publick, under no Authority or legal Command; but directly contrary and opposite to the Sovereign Power, and to the very Being of Society it self : For a Member of a Community, or civil Society, has no more Right to disturb the whole upon any Failure (if any be) than he has to cut his own Throat, because some part of his Body offends him. And under this Principle so founded in Nature, if Men did not acquiesce, the World would be in a constant Uproar. Since the best and easiest Government is just as far from being perfect, as the Men are that compose it.

How vain then is it to be disturbed at that, whose Cause is beyond our selves.

Tacitus

Tacitus says we ought to submit to what is present, and should wish for good Princes, but whatsoever they are endure them, and *Machia-vel* terms this a Golden Sentence, adding, that whosoever do's otherwise, Ruins both himself and Country : Certain it is, the condition of no Nation was ever bettered by a Civil War, for when the People and the Government draw the Sword against each other, all former Compacts and Agreements for securing of Liberty and Property are dissolved, and become void; for flying to Arms is a state of War, which is the meer state of Nature of Men out of Community, where all have an equal right to all things, and I shall enjoy my Life, my Substance, or what is dear to me, no longer then he that has more Cunning, or is Stronger than I, will give me leave; for

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Natural Conscience is not a sufficient Curb to the violent Passions of Men out of the Laws of Society. And the few that shall survive the Calamities and Devastations that Ambition or Revenge shall make in Civil Dissention, must ever after submit to the Arbitrary Power of the Conquering Party. Now under what Civil Stipulations and Covenants can a People be, with their Governors that can put them in a worse condition than this. And that any particular Government is now *jure Divino* is hard to affirm, and of no great use to Mankind. For let the Government of my Country where I am a Subject is by Divine Institution, or by Compact, I am equally bound to observe its Laws, and endeavour its Prosperity. For, take it to be true what *Plato* says. *Qui legibus pie & prudenter latis inser-*

servit, inservit deo. [that the Duty I owe to God obliges me to conform to the Laws of my Country which are for the orderly and well-being of every individual.] For God is the God of Order and Harmony and not Confusion. Also the Schools affirm, that *leges humane obligant conscientiam*; [that the Consciences of Men are bound by Humane Laws.]

I'll only mention more the undeniable Authority of Scripture, which plainly commands us to *Submit to every Ordinance of Man* 1 Pet. 2. 13. *for the Lord's sake*, [that is, Obey the Laws of Men where the Law of God is silent,] and were not Mankind thus Obliged, all Governments of Church and State would soon fall into Confusion.

And if the Divines do rightly infer from the Sixth Command-
ment

mandment (*Thou shalt not Kill,*)
That Scandalizing ones Neighbour
with false and malicious Reports,
whereby I vex his Spirit, and con-
sequently impair his Health, is a
degree of Murther.

I may affirm, that Factions Ru-
mours and Discourses, which alie-
nate the minds of People, and Im-
peach and weaken the Govenment
is a degree of Treason, and con-
sequently a breach of the Fifth
Commandment.

I know 'tis said, tho' a People,
leaving the State of Nature have
entred into a Community, and made
Laws, as they justly may to pre-
serve that Community ; which
Laws are to be Obeyed under the
penalty of displeasing God himself,
yet the Administrators of those
Laws being visibly and incurably
defective in preserving the whole,
may be removed ; For, (*cujus est*
dare,

dare, ejus est disponere. Where the People have no such Right, they have lost all Liberty.

Therefore Wise Governors will not bear hard upon the People, for when publick Abuses come to the height, that the Generality are sensible of them, and the true Majority have a mind to Discharge such from the Government. Whether single person, or Council; I know not who shall prevent it, or against what Law they Offend, since no Prince can shew a Patriarchal Right, and a Community is under Conditions.

I only mention these two last Paragraphs as the utmost the most zealous Advocates can urge for the Power of the People, and it amounts to no more than this; where the Person or Persons Possessing the Supream Power are incurably defective. And this plain-

ly appears to the Majority of the People, they have a Right to change the same: I think naturally they must, but even the Majority it self where there is no such plain dangerous defect, cannot in Right remove the Persons and alter the same, for then all Governments every day would be at the Will and Pleasure of the People, and I am sure Arbitrariness in a Multitude is far more dangerous than in a Single Person: The experience of all Ages has found this to be true.

It is no wonder that the publick Actions and Affairs of State should meet with many Censures and Enemies, since few Men can gain their own inward approbation of what they daily do themselves. So contradictory do passions make Men act to their own Reason and Conscience. It was a home Reproof our Saviour gave the Scribes and
Phari-

Pharisees when they seemed forward to have the Woman Stoned that was taken in Adultery. (*Let him that is without Sin cast the first Stone.*) Self Conviction forc'd the *Pharisees* to withdraw, and leave the Woman without Accusers. I therefore say, whoever impartially considers the corruptions of his own heart, the many failings of his undaunting, and is not very tender in opening and manifesting the Crimes and Failings of others, wants the modesty even of these Scribes & Pharisees, and may expect a sharper Reproof. It's an admirable Direction, much known, but little considered, that *Thales* left as the Characteristick of his Wisdom, *Nosce te ipsum*, Friend, know thy self; It's a hard point, and not every where found. We labour hard to publish our Abilities, and conceal our Infirmities.

And our inquiry into our selves is so slight and partial, that few Men are really what they appear to themselves to be. The vain Opiniater in pursuit of some extravagant hopes, involves himself in innumerable intricacies and hazardous circumstances, driven by the force of Passion, from the dictates of Reason and the common Paths of Sense falls into inevitable Calamities; and having thus expos'd himself, clamours against Providence for being unfortunate. These being not a small number are always ready to joyn with any Party in Civil Dissentions, whereby they hope either to mend their Condition, or get a good excuse for the bad one they are in.

The insatiable Minds of Men impatient under what's Present, fond of any Alteration, Headed by those that will be under no Dominion

minion but that of Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge, are the original cause of those Calamities a Civil-War brings upon a Nation. And when we say we are fallen into Bad Times, we mean no otherwise, but that we are fallen amongst a wicked Generation of Men. For the Sun, the mediate vivifying Cause of all things here below, and constant measurer of Time keeps its steady Course. The Condition of the Publick grows worse as Men grow more wicked. For in all Ages, as the Morals of Men were depraved, and Vice increased, the Commonwealth declined.

All Kingdoms being but the connexion of Families, the Prince thereof is truly termed the Father of the Country, the grand *Pater familias*, the great Master of the Household. Now if the Domesticks of

a Family be over-run with the deadly sin of Pride and Luxury, Sloth and Rapine : It is a fair sign of its utter Ruine. Thus in the larger Rule of Government there is the like dangers of Ruine. Where the Ministers and Publick Officers who are the hands of a Nation, are basely corrupted, serving the Publick no farther than it serves their own Interest, and so they do but gain themselves, care not who loses, or what the Government suffers. These seeming Friends are the worst of Enemies. They had better never have been born, they are as the corrupt Tree which cannot bring forth good fruit, absolute Strangers (in practice) to Prudence. Justice, and the other Vertues rightly called Cardinal. For upon the observance of them does the Safety and Prosperity of Mankind depend. That ever such
Men

Men should be preferred is a neglect in any Government; for there can be no Merit in any Man that wants Honesty. It's said for excuse that the heart of Man cannot be known before tryal, but the behaviour of a Man in an Employment may be well guess'd at, by the manner of his getting himself in: for if he owes his Advance to Money or Favour purely, than was there no regard to Ability and Merit; and what Corruption must be expected in an Office where so worthless a person is possessor of it? Wise Men will assent that the welfare of a Kingdom principally depends upon the Honesty and Ability of its Officers, where such are wanting, and the contrary employed, there will be hardships and complaints, and abettors easily found to raise from thence Commotions and Civil Dissentions.

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It will hardly be found upon strict examination, that any of the many Civil Wars that History speaks of, had their rise purely from open Abuses in the Government. For when publick Abuses become so Notorious that the People are universally grieved and affected therewith, how can such a Government gain a party strong enough to make a Civil War, since we cannot suppose any considerable number of men can be so senseless as to Fight for those that abuse them. And if the Generality perceive themselves necessarily obliged to alter the Administrators of a Government, as it may be done by Right, so it will be done without Blood-shed. It follows then, the subtilty used towards some weak men joyned with others, over-ruled by the Wealth and Authority of some great ambitious per-

persons is the main Foundation of all Civil Blood-shed. It may be affirmed, the number of those that have been Slaughtered by their Fellow-Creatures, exceed the number of all the Inhabitants that ever were at one time living upon the Face of the Earth, yet very few of this infinite number thus untimely slain were ever masters of the grounds of the Dispute for which they suffered, or the true reason of their being led to the Battle, the Truth with much Artifice being kept from all but what were Partys to the Design resolved on. What deluded wretches then have a great part of Mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in Causes, which if truly known, their heart would abhor, or been the Bloody Executioners of other Men's Ambition. It's a hard Fate to be slain for
 what

what a Man should never willingly fight; yet few Soldiers have laid themselves down in the Bed of Honour under better circumstances. It was not Ignorance made *Monluc*, Marshal of *France* confess, that if the Mercies of God were not Infinite, none of his Profession could expect any.

And because many peoples minds are better engaged by Examples out of History than by direction and precept, I'll mention some few Instances as related by the most known Authors for the truth of the proposition here asserted. History doth plainly tell us, that that Furious War (which broke out in *France*) in the Reign of *Francis II.* and which occasioned most Barbarous Murthers, Devastations, and such other Calamities) which are the common products of Civil Commotions, and

and by continuing near forty years had reduc'd *France* to the last Mi-
 fery) was begun and carried on
 by some few Great Men of Ambi-
 tious and Turbulent Spirits, delu-
 ding the People with the Cloak
 and *Masque* only of Religion, to
 gain their Assistance to what they
 did more especially aim at. 'Tis
 plain the Admiral *Coligny* advised
 the Prince of *Conde* to side with
 the *Hugonots*, not only out of
 love to their Perswasion, but to
 gain a Party, and be made thereby
 the stronger; neither can any
 Man think that the Papists out of a
 Principle of the Christian Religi-
 on which enjoyns us to be Meek and
 Charitable, did in few days space
 cut the Throats of near 30000
 Protestants in *France*, many of
 whom were Men of great Fame
 and Quality, but out of fear of
 their Numbers and Power, these
 being

being removed they made sure of grasping to themselves all Rule and Dominion. So that this *Parisian* Massacre had no more Religion in it than the *Sicilian* Vespers, when in two hours time all the *French* throughout the whole Kingdom of *Sicily* were at once with great Barbarity Massacred, for no other reason but that the *Sicilians* might get their Room.

It's a severe Fate for a People to be overcome by Enemies, who fight not to encrease their Subjects and enlarge their Dominions, but to lay waſt their Enemies Cities, destroy their People, and to extirpate their very Name and Being from the Face of the Earth, and such was the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*, they were so equal in Wealth and Power, that one seemed to eclipse the growing greatness of the other, being competitors

tors for that Sovereignty, which, unless one was totally destroy'd, the other could never absolutely have. The discerning Princes of *Carthage* clearly saw this, and no doubt upon this account it was, that *Amilcar*, who himself had saved them, made his Son *Hannibal* swear, while but Nine Years old to pursue *Rome* with immortal hatred, at Twenty-six he is made General of the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Spain*, upon Successes there he leaves the Command of *Spain* to *Asdrubal* his Brother, passing himself into *Italy*, convincing the *Romans* he was as ready to Assault as they. The care he had for his Country, (which true honour always prefers before any private Interest) made him despise the dangers he was sure to meet with there, and after many sharp Encounters, in some of which he was dangerously wounded,

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ed, and tedious Marches, in one of which, passing the *Apenine* Mountains by Severity of Weather he lost the use of one eye. He gainses the Character of a great Commander, both for the perfection of his Military skill, and greatness of his Spirit, this made him Fear'd abroad, and much Honour'd at home. But Envie, that always attends great Merit, not as a Friend to support, but as a Spie to betray, began to draw a black Cloud over *Hannibal's* performances with sinister Suggestions, which encreased equally with his rising Fame. So that after his Glorious Success at the Battel of *Canna*, where he totally overthrew the *Roman* Army, his Enemies growing impatient at the great Honours which he continually obtained by the happy progress of his Arms, tho' managed with as much Faithfulness to his

Coun-

Country as Bravery towards his Enemies, were resolved to Ruine him whatever the Publick suffer'd by it; hereupon *Hanno*, an ungrateful Noble-man of that *Carthage*, for whose Liberty *Hannibal* had fought so many Battels with his envious Accomplices, when Account was given of *Hannibal's* Proceedings and Victories to the *Carthaginian* Senate, and that he only wanted those Supplies which he then demanded to March even to the Walls of *Rome*; his Victory at *Canna* having laid the way open, so managed the matter in the Senate out of pure Malice to *Hannibal's* Person, that Succours were neglected to be sent, whereby the *Romans* gained more advantage than all their Armies could do; and *Hannibal* not only lost the opportunity of being Master of that City, which boasted to be the Mi-

stres of the World, but saw the *Carthaginian* Interest in a fair way of being utterly lost, which they would not see themselves till it was too late to prevent. For as Authors allow it probable, that if *Hannibal* had receiv'd suitable Supplies to his Occasions and Request, he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots. So the defects of Men and Money must not only hinder his advancing, but must necessarily make him lose ground; and being made unfortunate, he must be made culpable, and so his Enemies procur'd his being call'd home for not doing what they had contriv'd he should not, he receiv'd the Message with much concern, abominating the base Treachery his Enemies had acted toward their own Country as well as him, crying out, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and not *Scipio* the *Roman* had de-

destroyed *Carthage*. Upon his departure the *Romans* appointed an Holiday for thanks to the Gods, acknowledging, a Braver Officer could not be employed against them. In a little time the *Romans* became Masters of all, even of the Liberties of *Carthage* it self, upon whom they imposed Base and Servile Conditions, the just fruits of their usage of *Hannibal*.

Carthage being thus Betrayed by a Faction at Home, whose Safety *Hannibal* had often preferr'd before his Life, but being now made incapable of Serving those he loved best, his honest Country-men; to avoid the being an Eye-witness of their Miseries, and himself being taken and made the Reproach and Scorn of his Insulting Enemies; he withdrew into *Asia*, trusts himself with *Prussias*, King of *Bithynia*, whom the *Romans* presently De-

mand as their most spiteful Enemy; whereupon, this wretched King, to content the *Romans*, contrary to the Laws of Hospitality and Faith given, set a Guard about *Hannibal's* Lodgings, who seeing himself inclosed and hemmed in, took Poison, which he always carried about him: Thus died through Ambitious Envie that devours it self and all about it, the Faithfullest Subject that ever Country had, and one of the greatest Captains that ever the World Bred, Unfortunate, but Famous.

Carthage soon found its Period, when in the *Roman's* Power, and *Hannibal* its Defender was remov'd, and the sooner because the *Romans* considered that the Mastery of *Carthage* was not so much owing to their Arms as the Faction within it self: Thus their Fears destroy'd what the Envy of others had betray'd

tray'd : For *Paterculus* their own Author says. *Neque se Romam securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam stantis maneret Carthaginis.* That Rome was not secure while *Carthage* was in being ; and the same Author says, after reciting that *Scipio* had rais'd the very Foundations of that Famous City. *Hunc finem habuit Romani Imperii Carthago Æmula.* This was the Fate of *Carthage* the Competitor of Rome's Greatness.

It is confess'd by all, that the Gall and Rancour which were rais'd in *Hanno* at those Merits in others, which he in no wise could pretend to, were the cause of the utter Destruction of this Populous and Rich City of *Carthage*, once equal to Rome for Power and Wealth, and for Antiquity Superior, its Foundation being sixty five years older

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than that of *Rome's*. It might be useful to set out and delineate to Mankind the Arts and Disguises, the false Topicks and Mediums that *Hanno* and such Factious Persons as he must use to make their Venomous Intentions and False Reasonings pass undiscovered by a wise Senate.

I know there are some Historians of good credit, that lay the blame of retarding the Supply to be sent to *Hannibal*, which lost *Carthage*, to the natural sparing humour of the *Carthaginians*; but it do's not seem probable to me, that the *Carthaginians* after so many Bloody and Expensive Wars with the *Romans*, more to defend than enlarge their Territories in this last War, wherein both Parties seem'd determin'd to have all their Differences finally decided by the Fortune of War, resolving to be either
 Slaves

Slaves or Conquerors, should suffer the greatest Victory they ever obtained, or that the *Romans* ever lost to be of no effect and advantage through unseasonable Avarice. Certainly the Fatality of *Carthage* proceeded from a Faction at home, which will eat the very Heart of the strongest constituted Government, and may be never be perceived till it is past recovery.

'Tis remarkable that in this War also the *Romans* had some base Spirits among them, who to make themselves Popular, had run *Rome* into great Hazard of receiving the same Fate from the *Carthaginians*, which *Carthage* received after from the *Romans*; and 'tis no mean Instance of the Mutability of Humane Affairs, that *Rome* from a low and despairing condition should in a little time be able to tread upon their Conquerors; and

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Carthage from the highest Successes, fall so low as to be deny'd the freedom of being a People in the World; this looks as if some were to have the shew of Happiness only, that their Misery may seem the sharper; warning us, That when Fortune comes Smiling, she often designs the most Mischief. In truth, their Misfortune proceeded from being wise too late, they did not know the Causes till the Effects were past. *So sero sapiunt Phryges*, Experience is not worth the cost, and to buy Wisdom at ones own Ruin is like buying a Noble Medicine to cure the Diseases of a Man that is dead.

But to mention the Stories which shew that base Men of little Ability may be popular in a Government, and that it is dangerous when they are so: *M. Centenius Penula*, (whom *Machiavel* calls a very

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ry base Fellow,) after *Hannibal* had been in *Italy* eight or ten years, and had filled the whole Country with Bloody Slaughters of the *Romans*, to the great Terror of *Rome* it self, being swelled to a great conceit of himself by the airy applauses and opinions of the Vulgar, had the confidence to enter the Senate, offering, that if they would give him Authority to Levy an Army, he would in a short time deliver into their hands *Hannibal* either dead or alive; the Senate thought his demand very rash, but considering how acceptable such a Proposal would sound in the ears of the People durst not deny him for fear of a Tumult; thus they were forced to Sacrifice their own Judgments, an Army of Friends, and almost their whole State to satisfy the humour of the People centered in one weak Man: The Success

cess was no better than the expectation, for *Hannibal* meeting *Penula* near *Capua* totally Routs his whole Army, so that of sixteen thousand not two hundred escaped.

And not long before, *Terentius Varro*, a mean Man in all respects, thro' the Favour of the Multitude was chosen Consul, notwithstanding all the opposition the Senate could make; apprehending the ill Consequences which must happen from such a rash and inconsiderate Commander in the Army. However, to please the People, he boldly gave out in all Meetings, and Publick places of *Rome* that he would certainly Defeat *Hannibal*; the rashness of this Man occasioned the Battel of *Canna*, and the total Overthrow of the *Roman* Army there; so that without Opposition the Conqueror might have March'd to *Rome*, and by laying waste

wast that City, have put an end to the War, and 'twas reckon'd a fault in *Hannibal* he did not; *Ma-herbal* an Officer telling him, he knew how to get, but not to use a Victory. Thus the *Roman* State was brought to the very brink of Ruin and Destruction through the means only of a hot-headed Favourite of the Peoples.

These three, *Varro*, *Penula* and *Hanno* are always spoken of with Infamy; the Baseness of their Minds and Lives leaving a suitable character behind them, the two first endangering, the last absolutely ruining a large and Mighty Common-wealth: yet peradventure when they saw the conclusion of their Treacheries and Follies was the Ruin of their Native Country, they might have the Fools Excuse in reserve, that they did not intend it; which rather

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aggravates than lessens their Crimes ; for he that begins a Mischief upon a supposition, that at such a time he will put a stop to it, will find himself miserably mistaken.

And as these Persons were justly Branded for the Calamity they brought upon their Country, so it ought to be considered how far the Senators themselves, both of *Carthage* and *Rome* were accessory to their own Misfortune. The Senate of *Rome* was well acquainted with the inability of *Varro* and *Penula* for such Commands as the People press'd they might have, expecting from their Conduct nothing but Ruin to the Publick; yet the refusal of these the Senate did believe would put the Common People into such an Uproar, that they ran a hazard of their own Lives; therefore they chose rather
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to gratifie the People, tho' to the apparent hazard of the whole Commonwealth than venture their own safety ; this is *cenſura difficilis*, a ſevere Reflection, eſpecially upon a Senate compoſed of *Romans*, who boasted of a Publick Spirit beyond the ordinary pitch of Mankind, yet the generality of the fault will much abate the Blame : For 'tis believ'd there are few National or Civil Aſſemblies in the World but have greater care of themſelves than of the Publick.

Certainly the Spirit of *Attilius Regulus* was above moſt Mens imitation, who being a Priſoner at *Carthage*, was ſuffered to go to *Rome* with their Ambaſſadors, upon Faith given to return if Peace was not made : Againſt which, *Regulus* himſelf when he came to *Rome*, gave reaſons to the Senate out of love to his Country ; whereupon the
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Senate and his own Relations desired, and advised him to stay, and not return to the *Carthaginians*, enraged by their disappointment of a Peace, and who, they were informed, were resolved to use him Barbarously: He told them he had so much of the Spirit of a *Roman* that he could not consent to what was Base or Dishonourable, and that the Tortures of a Rack were not so much to be feared as the shame of an Infamous Action, because the first only touch'd the Body, but the other pierc'd the very Soul. He returned therefore to *Carthage* to be just to his Word, where they put him to Death with the extremest Tortures their Wit could invent.

A great Instance, to what a contempt of this Life and the pains or pleasures that belong to it, a meer natural Man may bring himself,
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that will free himself from the base and slavish importunities of the Senses; and be guided only by the noble, and ever happy dictates of honour and justice; and that the Pains of the Body are much inferior to those of the Mind: So that the Purity of the Mind is to be preferred before the Pleasure, or being of the Body.

But no Senate nor Civil Assembly can be under such natural impulses to Honour and Justice as single Persons; for Politick Members meet with neither Encouragement nor Reproaches, for what was the effect of Number only. For a majority is no Body when that majority is separated, and a collective Body can have no sympathy or Divine Ray, which is in the mind of every Man, never assenting to evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: But the Honour and Conscience

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that lies in the majority is too thin and diffusive to be efficacious; for a Number can do a great Wrong, and call it Right and not one of that majority blush for it; hence it is, that though a Publick Assembly may lie under great censures, yet each Member looks upon himself as little concerned; this must be the reason why a *Roman* Senate should act with less Spirit and less Honour than any single *Roman* would do: And this compliance of the *Roman* Senate with the Multitude, contrary to their Reason, and below their Honour, shews, That when the Commonalty are in their heats and commotions, they must be forc'd or comply'd with, being rarely capable of Reason and Perswasion. That 'tis an *Herculean* Labour to perswade them from an imaginary to a real good; thus to free themselves from the difficulties

ties of Reasoning with the Multitude, It was the Wisdom of the ancient Law-givers, such as *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, to assign the Laws they made for the benefit of the People, (who understanding nothing, suspect every thing) to some Deity, that they might be received without opposition or contempt; the vulgar are easily moved, as *Machiavel* says, by Arguments that tend to present Gain or Loss, their minds being wholly taken up with the present, are ever void of that Wisdom which is the result of Reflection, not capable by comparing the present with what has been, of making a rational conjecture of what may be.

As to the *Carthaginian* Senators, it must be said, That though their easiness of believing crafty insinuations, raised by base and designing Spirits, was lost the great-

est General then in the World, and with him, themselves, and the whole Commonwealth: It is hard to say that Charity, that Divine Vertue, so necessary in single persons, is dangerous in Governours; in them 'tis prudence to believe all Men are bent to mischief, and that good is seldom done but through Force or Fear, and that most have a wit to put in practice the wickedness of their minds, as oft as occasion shall serve, and to this innate disposition to evil is often added Hypocrisie, making the greatest shews of probity and goodness when they intend to deceive most; thus *Hanno*, under the disguise of being a Patriot Ruined his Country.

Rome hitherto had beheld with Triumph, the miseries of War in other Nations, commanding by the right of Conquest, the Lives and
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Fortunes of the best part of the World, levelling with the ground their Cities, and leading their Princes in chains; but all terrestrial Felicities must have an end, and Triumphant Rome it self is at last so full of miseries, as if all the cruelties and barbarities her insulting Armys had exercised on the Nations round about, were return'd into her own Bowels; managed by those that always are the worst of Enemies, Neighbours and Country-men: For *Fabius* said well, he had rather fall upon the Enemy's Sword than the Citizens Malice, this State-Frenzy of Sedition, which ever proves fatal, was occasioned by the reviving of the *Agrarian* Law, by which, the Lands taken from their Enemies, and formerly divided among the Nobility, should be shared among the People of Rome; the contentions about this

Law kindled such a hatred between the People and the Seuate, that it never ended, but with the loss of the Liberty of *Rome*, and the dissolution of that Republick.

So vast a Destruction hapning from the single inconveniencie of a reasonable Law, too violently urged, may caution wise Men to avoid the least beginnings of Strife in a Government, since they often breed Contentions, which the wisest heads cannot compose: Every Division in a Government is like the breaking out of a Fire, when, and where 'twill end no body knows, and as the *Gracchi*, they may fall first, that think themselves farthest from danger.

The various progress of these contentions between the Senate and the People about this Law; the great Barbarity used towards each other's Party, as often as they
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had power. The miserable slaughters and Massacres within the City, and the Effusion of Blood in the Camps, which never ceased till the Common-wealth expired, may be seen in their Histories. I shall only set down some few particulars that occur from reflecting upon these Civil Feuds of the *Romans*: That a greater Plague cannot come upon a People than a Civil War; For Man has no worser Enemy than Man; *David* well considered this when three Evils were proposed to him, to entreat the Prophet that he might not fall into the hands of Man: That Authors of civil disturbances generally have the fate to fall by the Tumults they have raised: That a Law may be Just and Reasonable, as this *Agrarian*, and yet not at all times fit to be promoted: 'Tis plain by this also, how much Men esteem

Wealth rather than Honours, for the Nobility of *Rome* ever gave way to the People, where it touch'd matter of Honour without any extraordinary distaste, but when their wealth was concerned, how obstinately did they defend it, even to Madness.

And 'tis more plain, there is not in Nature a point of Stability to be found, every thing either ascends or declines; when Wars are ended abroad, Sedition begins at home, and when Men are freed from fighting for Necessity, they quarrel through Ambition.

It will be sufficient to fright any thinking People from promoting any publick disturbances, to consider the miseries which befell all Ranks and Orders of People during these Dissensions.

1. Such a deluge of Calamities as are not to be found in any other position of the Humane Nature.

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The common People were Butchered after a most inhumane manner, 8000 put to death together, in a large House in the *Campus Martius*, The Soldiers had liberty to kill all they met, and throughout all the Cities of *Italy*, the effusion of Blood was such, that neither Temple nor Sanctuary, nor private houses escaped their Fury; so that *Sylla* was told, he ought to leave some People to Reign over. Not to mention the miserable Slaughters upon the entrance of *Cinna* and *Marius* into *Rome*, afterward by *Sylla's* Party alone, being of the contrary Faction, were put to death common people innumerable, two thousand six hundred Gentlemen, fifteen Consuls, and four score and ten Senators, and that bloody day of *Romans* against *Romans*, on the Plains of *Pharsalia* was the effect of this Quarrel; for

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Cæsar was made Head of *Marius's* Party, and *Pompey* of *Sylla's*.

And though the condition of the People of *Rome* and *Italy* was very deplorable under these Civil Disturbances, yet that of the Commanders, and the chief in Power was in all respects much worse, however they might pride themselves in being satiated with Blood and Revenge ; since 'tis better to be oppressed than to be an oppressor, better to be unfortunate than wicked, better dye lamented than live to be cursed, and thought the Scourge and Pest of one's Country.

For at the several Entries of *Cinna* and *Marius*, and afterwards of *Sylla* into *Rome*, the Salutations of the People were their Curses and bitter Out-cries, *in execrationem Cinna partiumque Ejus*, as their Historians write, against *Cinna* and his Faction

Faction, and so odious, were their practices, that they said of *Marius*, the best of them, that he was *in otio civibus, infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus*, in Peace a bitter Enemy to his Country-men, and of Quiet, most impatient; and the same Author shews the ground of turbulent spirits, *Sed iis, quibus & pessima & immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere*, That they, whose greedy desires were both extremely wicked and unbounded could not away with peace.

And certainly the Fruit that these Gentlemen reap'd from their Sedition, will never tempt any to follow their Example. For their days were spent in continual Troubles, their nights must be dismal, whilst Darkneſs and Silence presented to their Minds their Cruel and horrid Acts in their proper Colours,

lours, their Characters were Villanous, leaving behind 'em an everlasting Infamy. Their power but momentary, not lasting three years in any. Their Deaths Violent and Infamous, *Cinna* was slain by his own Soldiers. *Marius* indeed died within a month after made Consul which prevented a worse end. *Sylla* was eaten up with Lice, an Impostume so corrupted his flesh, that it turned all to that Vermin, notwithstanding he was continually shifted night and day.

But most dreadful is the consideration of the weight of that guilt which must always accompany their Spirits, for Souls do not inhabit the Dust: Those scenes of Miseries, and Follies that these Men have presented to the World, are a sufficient proof, what base creatures Man-kind are to themselves, and others, when Passions are predominant.

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The common People of *England* have suffered the same Fate as other Nations, they have been drawn with Heat and Fury, to shed one another's Blood for such a Liberty as their Leaders never intended they shou'd have, and have fought many Battels, to redress Grievances, which Victory, wherever it hapned, always encreased; endangering a good Government upon pretences of making it better. Such practices have made Foreigners believe the *English* are naturally of a turbulent and disquiet Spirit, as if those Epithets of *perfidis, inflati, feri, amentes, immanes*, which *Scaliger* bestows on us, were true.

But Foreigners have reason to think our frequent disturbances proceed from our Tempers, and not from any Defects in the Government; since Learned Writers abroad have declared, that of all
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Seigniories in the World; the Realm of *England* was the Country where the Common-wealth was best Governed.

And Men well Governed should seek after no other Liberty, for there can be no greater Liberty than a good Government: The truth is, the easiness of the Government has made some so wanton as to kick against it; our own Historians write, that most of our Kings have been unthankfully used.

The Barons Wars have been attributed, by good Historians, to the stubbornness of the Nobility, though it carried the specious pretence of confirming Liberties. By this War, *Henry III.* was forc'd for want of Money, to renounce to the King of *France*, for the poor consideration of 300000*l.* his Right to *Normandy, Anjou, Tourain, Main,*
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and *Poictou*, which had cost the *English* much Blood, and Money, and by the loss of those Havens and Ports a t'other side, the Ocean our wall, the natural and best Fence of our Island, is left naked and exposed.

It has been observed also, That since these Troubles from the Barons; the Kings of *England*, to lessen the power of the Nobility, and ballance them, have yielded to the growing greatness and Privileges of the Commons, and what effect that will have, time can only shew. Politicians do affirm, that Nobility preserves Liberty longer than the Commons, and for instance, say, *Solon's* popular State came far short of *Lycurgus's* by mixt Government. For the Popular State of *Athens* soon fell; whilst the Royal, mixt Government of *Sparta* stood a mighty time, by Nobility
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Sparta. and *Venice* enjoyed their Freedom longer than *Rome*.

The terribleness of Civil War and Diffensions will be sufficiently made out by observing the Methods of Divine Providence ; for never was any place so severely threatened with terrible Judgments and Desolations as *Jerusalem*, the Capital City of the Holy Land, and the Seat of Religion for above 1100 years ; and for a full accomplishment of that Wrath and Vengeance which was pronounc'd against it, it pleased God to suffer a mighty Faction and Sedition to be raised within it self, as one certain means of its Misery and Destruction.

'Tis plain whilst we are mixt Bodys, we are continually passing from one alteration to another, as well civilly as naturally : For inconveniencies and offences, as the Scripture declares, will come, but withal,

withal, adds a woe unto them, by whom they do come; 'tis the qualifications of our contemporaries, of the Men that dwell at the same time with us, must make us happy or miserable; it must be their Wisdom, Justice, and Honour, which are not local, as the Law calls it, tyed or annexed to a place, but moving and transitory, as Fortune it self. For there is the same proportion of good and evil in the World as ever, tho' it shifts and changes, not always in the same place, and never in the same degree; even the holy worship of God Religion, through the wickedness of Men, has had its marches: Nor is Man alone the subject of Alteration and Vicissitude, but the Earth it self is sometimes dry Land, and sometimes overwhelmed with Waters, and a fruitful Land has been turn'd into barren-

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ness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein ; all sublunaries being in continual motion, little knowledg in History will convince us, that Persons, Families, Countries, and Nations have alternately fall'n from great Wealth, Honour and Power, to Poverty and Contempt, and to the very dregs of Slavery : We must look a long way back to find the *Romans* giving Laws to Nations, and their Consuls bringing Kings and Princes bound in Chains to *Rome* in Triumph ; to see Men go to *Greece* for Wisdom, or *Ophir* for Gold, when now nothing remains but a poor paper remembrance of their former condition.

It would be an unspeakable advantage, both to the publick and private, if Men would consider that great truth, that no Man is wise or safe, but he that is honest: All

I have designed is Peace to my
Country, and may *England* enjoy
that Blessing when I shall have no
more proportion in it than what
my Ashes make.

OF

Ecclesiastical Power.

TH E Levitical Priests in the old Law never arrogated unto themselves any Temporal, or Coercive Power, nor advanced their Miters against the Crown of *Israel*. They well understood what Authority God had committed unto them, and rested therewithal content. Some wrangling hereabout hath been of late, the Popes Flatterers, labouring to prove, That the High Priests of old were not subject to the Kings of *Judah*; and Men of better Spirit and Learning have shewed them the contrary.

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But whatsoever befel in those days when there was no King in *Israel*, that is, before the Reign of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, sure it is, that the Sons of *Aaron* were always obedient to the Sons of *David*, and acknowledged them their Lords.

As for the Race of the *Macca-bees*, that held both the Kingdom and the Priest-hood at once, it falls not within this Consideration. The first thereof (of whom I read) that used the advantage of Honour given him in matter of Religion, towards the getting of Temporal Possessions, was (if not *Mahomet* himself) *Abubequer* the Successor unto *Mahomet*: This Man having obtained by the help of Friends, the miserable happiness of being chosen heir unto the foul Impostor in his Dignity of Prophet, made it one of his first works to Dispoyl

poor *Aliffe* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and heir of his great Riches, taking all from him by this pretence, That to whom belonged the Succession in Wisdom, to him also belonged the Succession in Wealth: And this grew presently to be a famous question among the Doctors of the *Saracen* Law. But however it were then decided, we see how the *Mufti*, or High Prelate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turks* in Spiritual matters, lives, and holds all that he hath at the discretion of the great Sultan. Nevertheless, it should seem that the Doctrine of *Abubequer* hath not lost all force; for the Examples are many in all *Saracens* Lands, of Prophets or Deceivers, who having got that name never rested until they became Kings.

The *Serisso* in *Barbary* was one of the last, who, having once acquired

quired the Opinion of a Holy Man, afterwards found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a small Territory, and finally, encreased his Followers, and withal, his Bounds, so fast, and so far, as having made himself King of *Morocco*, he had the Grace to tell the King of *Fess* (lately his Sovereign) that both *Fesse*, and all the Kingdoms of those Parts were belonging to his own Holiness, and this he made good by winning all soon after.

Whether the claim which the Popes lay to the Supremacy over all Kingdoms and Estates had not Affinity with the Doctrine of *Abu-bequer*, let other Men judge, That their practices to maintain it have been suitable to those of the *Seriffe*, all Histories do verify.

For when Pope Gregory II. procured the City of *Rome*, and some

other places in *Italy* to Rebëll against the Emperour, *Leo* III. What other Colour used he, than that he himself had Excommunicated *Leo*, as an Ungodly *Prince*, for breaking down Images that were Worshiped in Churches; when, for this reason (*Paul* the *Exarch*) Lieutenant unto the Emperour Besieged *Rome*, with the Assistance of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*? By what other Art did the Pope remove the Siege, than by perswading the *Lombards* with a tale of *Peter* and *Paul*, that had Consecrated the City of *Rome* with their precious blood? Thus was Devotion made the Cloak for Treason, and thus did the Popes first slip their Necks out of the Emperor's Collar.

Within very few years after this, by the like Religious pretext were those Princes of *France*, *Charles*
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Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne won to assist the Papacy against the *Lombards*, yea, to give unto *S. Peter* the most part of those Lands which the Pope now holds in *Italy*, and not restore them to the Emperour, from whom the *Lombards* had gotten them, and thereunto *Pepin* was perswaded for his Soul's health.

Yet had Pope *Zachary*, through the Opinion that went of his Holiness, done a notable good office for *Pepin* before, when he released the *French-men* of their Oath to King *Chilperick*, and was the cause that *Pepin* was chosen in his stead, by saying, That rather, he should be King, who did the King's Duty, than he who did it not.

In like manner did Pope *Leo* recompence the Benefits of *Charlemagne*, by setting him up as Emperour in the *West* against those of
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Constantinople. But in these mutual Offices the Bishops did only help with grateful words, to adorn that Might which *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne* had before acquired, whereas those Kings used force of Arms to erect the *Papacy* into a *Principality*, that was yet held in a *Vassalage* unto themselves.

Now this could not satisfy the Ambition of that See, which gloried falsely, to be the Holy See Apostolick: For as the Reputation of the *Roman Prelates* grew up in those blind Ages, under the Western Emperours, much faster than true Piety could cause it in former times, when better Learning had flourished; so grew up in them withal a desire of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in Temporal Forces as Men's Opinions had formed them in Spiritual

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Matters: Immediately therefore, upon the death of *Charlemagne* they began to neglect the Emperour's Consent in their Elections, and finding in them that afterwards Reigned of the House of *France*, either too much patience, or too much weakness, they were bold, within seventy years to decree, That in the Creation of Popes the Emperour should have nothing at all to do, (having obtained this) it followed, that they should make themselves Lords over the whole Clergy in all Kingdoms.

But the work was great, and could not be accomplish'd in haste; for they were much disturbed at home with the people of *Rome*, who seeing about fifty Popes, or rather, maintainers of Papacy, would now have them called Monsters of *S. Peter's Chair*, despising that
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Hypocrisie, which the World abroad did reverence as Holiness.

Likewise the Empire falling from the Line of *Charlemagne* to the mighty house of *Saxony*, was so strongly upheld by the first Princes of that Race, as it greatly troubled the Ambition of those aspiring Spirits of Prelates. Yet, no impediment could always be of force to withstand the violence of so seeming Sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and some other far remote Nations had yielded themselves in subjection, more than meerly Spiritual, even to those Popes whom *Italy* knew to be detestable Men.

As for the *Roman* Citizens, they were chastised by the Sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what right; long it was indeed e'er they could (with much ado)
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be thoroughly tamed; because they knowing the Lewdness of their Prelates and this Court, the Devotion unto him, (the Trade by which now they live) was very small; because also they were the Pope's domestick Forces, against which no Prince did happily contend: But finally, the Pope's Arms prevailed, or when his own were too weak, the Emperor's, or other Princes. The Sword of the People, even of their own Subjects hath been used, by teaching all Christians in our Western World a false Lesson, viz. That it is Lawful and Meritorious to Rebell against Kings Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope. This Curse was first laid upon the Emperor *Hen. 4.* by Pope *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory 7.* It is true that I said before, that *Leo* of *Constantinople* had felt the same, though not in the same sort;
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for *Leo* being Excommunicated, was not withal Deposed only, but suffered a Revolt of some *Italian* Subjects; and one may say that the *German* Emperour deserv'd this plague, since the Founder thereof had given Countenance to the Popes Rebelling against their Sovereigns, the Emperours of *Constantinople*; howsoever it were, when *Hildebrand* had Accursed and Cast down from his Throne, *Henry 4.* there was none so hardy as to defend their Injured Lord against the Counterfeit Name of *St. Peter*: wherefore he was fain to humble himself before *Hildebrand*; upon Whom he waited three days barefoot in the Winter, e'er he could be admitted into his presence, neither yet could he otherwise get Absolution, than by submitting his Estate unto the Pope's good pleasure; what was his Fault? He had
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refused to yield up to the Pope the Investiture of Bishops, and Collation of Ecclesiastical Dignities within his Dominions, a Right that had always belonged unto Princes until that day. It were superfluous to tell how grievously he was afflicted all his life after, notwithstanding his Submission. In brief, the unapeaseable Rage of *Hildebrand* and his Successours never left persecuting him, by raising one Rebellion after another. Yea, his own Children rose up against him, till dispoyl'd of his Crown, he was fain to beg Food of the Bishop of *Spires*; promising to earn it in a Church of his own Building, by doing there a Clerk's Duty, for he would serve the Quire; and not obtaining this, he pined away and died.

That Bishop of *Spires* dealt herein perhaps rather Fearfully than Cruelly; for he had to terrifie him
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the Example of *Vitello*, Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, chief Prelate among the *Germans*, who was condemned of Heresie, having deny'd that the Emperour might be deprived of his Crown by the Pope's Authority.

If Princes therefore be careful to exclude the Doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their Dominions, who can blame them of Rigour.

This Example of *Hildebrand*, though it could not have been forgot, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same Nature: But this was neither one Pope's Fault, nor one Prince's Destiny. He must write a Story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind; as how he wrought upon *Henry 5.* whom they had set up against his Father; what horrible effusion of Blood they caused by
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their often Thundering upon *Frederick*, and how they rested not till they had made the Empire Headless about seventeen years together.

Those things moved *Rodolph*, Earl of *Habsburg*, who was chosen Emperor after that long Vacation, to refuse the Ceremony of being Crowned at *Rome*, tho' he were thereto urged by the Electors; for, (said he) our *Cæsars* have gone to *Rome* as the foolish Beasts in *Æsop's* Fables, went to the Lion's Den, leaving very goodly footsteps of their Journey thitherwards, but not the like of their return.

The same Opinion most of the Succeeding Emperours held, or almost all, neglecting the *Roman* Coronation, good cause why; since the Popes (besides many Extortions which they practised about that Ceremony) Arrogated thence

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unto themselves, that the Empire was held of them in Homage, and dealt they not after the same fashion with other Kingdoms?

What Right had *St. Peter* to the Crowns of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Roman* Princes won those Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Constantinople*: The same *Romans* had also been Mighty Defenders of the Papacy in many dangers; yet when time served, the Pope took upon him as Lord paramount of those Countries, to drive out one King and set up another, with a Bloody Confusion of all *Italy*, retaining the Sovereignty to himself.

In *France* he had the daring to pronounce himself superiour to the King in all matters, both Temporal and Spiritual.

The Crown of *Poland* he forced
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to hold of his Mitre, by imposing a Subjection in way of Penance, for that the *Polish* King had caused one St. *Stainslaus* to be slain.

For the death of St. *Thomas Becket* and (more strangely) for a refusal of an Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* whom his Holiness had appointed, he imposed the like penance upon *England*.

Also when our King *Ed. I.* made War upon the *Scots*, word came from *Rome*, That he should surcease, for that the Kingdom of *Scotland* belonged to the Pope's Chappel.

A great oversight it was of *S. Peter* that he did not accurse *Nero*, and all Heathen Princes, whereby the Pope's Chappel ought to have gotten all that the Devil offered, and our Saviour Christ refused: Yet what need was there of such a Band, since Fryar *Vincent* of *Valverde* could tell *Ata-*

talippa King of *Peru*, That all the Kingdoms of the Earth were the Pope's, who had bestowed more than half thereof upon the King of *Spain*. If the Pope will have it so, it must be so, otherwise, I should have Interpreted that place of *Genesis*, *Increase and Multiply, and fill the Earth*, as spoken to *Noah* and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal, Namar, and Phutt*, the supposed Fathers of the old *Ibreans, Goths, and Moors*, of whom the *Spanish* Blood is compounded; but of such Impudent Presumption in disposing of Countries far removed, and whereto the Sword must acquire a better Title, the Mischief is not presently discovered.

It were well if his Holiness had not loved to set the World in an uproar, by nourishing Wars among them that respected him as a Common Father.

His

His Dispensing with Oaths taken for agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, do speak no better of him ; for by what right was it that *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* wan the Kingdom of *Navarre*? why did not the Confederacy that was between *Lewis XII.* of *France* and the *Venetians* hinder that King from Warring upon *Venice*? Why did not the like between *England* and *France* hinder our King *Henry VIII.* from Warring upon the Son of King *Lewis*? Was it not the Pope, who did set on the *French*, to the end that himself might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Was it not the same Pope, who afterwards (upon desire to drive the *French* out of *Italy*) Excommunicated *Lewis* and his Adherents, by virtue of which Excommunication, *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* Seized upon *Navarre*,

And served not the same Warrant to set our *Henry* upon the Back of *France* ; But this was not our Kings fault more than all the People; We might with shame confess it, if other Countries had not been as blindly Superstitious as our Fathers. Thata Barque of Apples, Blessed by the Pope and sent hither for Presents to those that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our *English* hasty to take Arms; in such sort, as the *Italians* wondred, and laughed to see our Men no less greedy of those Apples, than *Eve* was of the Forbidden Fruit, for which they were to hazard their Lives in an unjust War: Few Ages have wanted such, and more grievous Examples of the Pope's Tumultuous Disposition, but these were among the least that fell out before his Unholiness was Detected. Now for his Dispensing between

Kings

Kings and their Subjects, we need not seek Instances far from home.

He Absolved our King *John* of an Oath given to the Barons, and People, The Barons and People he afterwards Discharged of their Allegiance to King *John*.

King *Henry III.* had appeased his Land, (how wisely I say not) but taking such an Oath as his Father had done, Swearing, he was a Knight, a Christian, and a King: But in a Sermon at *Paul's*, where People were taught how little was to be reposed to such Assurance, the Pope's Dispensation being there openly Read, which pronounced that Oath void; good cause why, for that King had the patience to be like neither Knight, nor King, but as the Pope's Tenant and Rent-gatherer in *England*. But when the same King adventured to murmur, the Pope could

threaten to teach him his Duty, with a Vengeance, and make him know what it was to winch, and play the *Frederick*.

Thus we see what has been his Custom to Oppress Kings by their People, and the People by their Kings, yet this was for serving his own turn,

Wherein had our King *Henry VI* offended him (which King, Pope *Julius*, would after, for a little Money, make a Saint) nevertheless the Pope's Absolving of *Richard*, Duke of *York* from that honest Oath which he had given, by Mediation of all this Land to that good King, occasioned both the King, and the Duke's Ruin, and therewithall all those long and cruel Wars between the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, and brought all *England* into a horrible Combustion, what he meant by this

this I know not, unless to verify the Proverb. *Omnia Romæ Venalia.*

I will not urge the Dispensation whereby the Pope Released King *Philip II.* of *Spain* from his Solemn Oath, by which he was bound to maintain the Privileges of the *Nether-lands* ; tho' the Papal Indulgence hath scarce as yet left working, and been the cause of so many Hundred Thousands slain, for these last forty years, in the *Nether-lands.*

Neither will I urge the Pope's encouraging of *Henry II.* and his Sons, to the last against the *French* Protestants, the cause of the first three Civil Wars, and lastly, of the leavying of the *Byrons*, in which there have perished no less than in the *Low-Countries.*

For our Countrey, it affords an Example of fresh Memory ; since we should have had as Furious a War as ever, both upon us, and among

mong us, in the days of our late Famous Sovereign, Queen *Elizabeth*, if Pope *Pius's* Bull could have Goared as well as he could Bellow.

Therefore it were not amiss to answer by Herald, the next Pontifical Attempt of like Nature, rather sending Defiance, as to an Enemy, than publishing Answers as to one that had here to do, by any Lawful Power, either in Civil or Ecclesiastical after such time as *Britain* was won from the *Roman Empire*.

For howsoever it were ordered in some of the first Holy General Councils, That the Pope of *Rome* should be Patriarch over these Quarters, yea, or were it supposed that the forged Canons, by which he now challengeth more than Precedency, and Supremacy, had also been made indeed, yet could this little help his Claim in
King-

Kingdoms that hold not of the Empire. For those right Holy Fathers did not make Truth, but Religiously expound it, by virtue of Ecclesiastical Government; they did not Create Princes, but ordered the Discipline of the Countries, which they then had.

There were Assemblies of all the Bishops in the *Roman* World, and with the *Roman* Dominion only they meddled; requisite it is, that the Faith which they taught should be embraced in all Countries, as it ought likewise to be entertained in the *East*, if the same had been in like sort illustrated, not by them, but by General Councils of the Bishops, in the great Kingdom of the *Abyssines*, which is thought to have been Christian in those days: But it was not requisite, nor is, that the Bishop of the *Abyssines* and of *India* should

should be under direction of the Patriarch of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*; questionless, those Godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, and of the *Chalcedonian* Council so thought: For they took not upon them to order the Church-Government in *India*, where *St. Thomas* had Preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Prester-John* (as we call them) under any of themselves; much less to frame an Hierarchy upon Earth, whereto Men of all Nations whatsoever, should be Subject in Spiritual Obedience.

If *Constantine* and his Successors, the *Roman* Emperours could have won all *Asia*, like it is, that in the Council following, more Patriarchs would have been ordained for the Ecclesiastical Government of that large Continent, and not all those vast Countries to be left un-
to

to him of *Antioch* and *Constantinople*. But since, contrariwise, the Empire became loser. The Patriarchs, whose Jurisdiction depended upon the Empire, became losers also.

We grant that even in the times of Persecution, before Christian Bishops durst hold open Assemblies, There was given special Honour to the Bishops that were over the chief Cities, that Unity might the better be preserved, and Heresie kept out of the Church; but this Honour was no more than a Precedency and Dignity without coercive Power, extending no farther than to matter of Religion, and not having to do (but in the general way of Christian Love) with any Strangers.

We therefore that are no Dependants on the Empire, ought
not

not to be troubled with the Authority, (be it what it may be) of any Assemblies of their Godly Fathers, which all Subjects of that Empire believe are ordained for their own better Government: But rather should regard the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Islanders of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* do him of *Constance* in *Normandy*, that is, nothing at all; since by that *French* Bishop's refusal to swear unto the King, Those Isles were annexed to the Diocess of *Winchester*.

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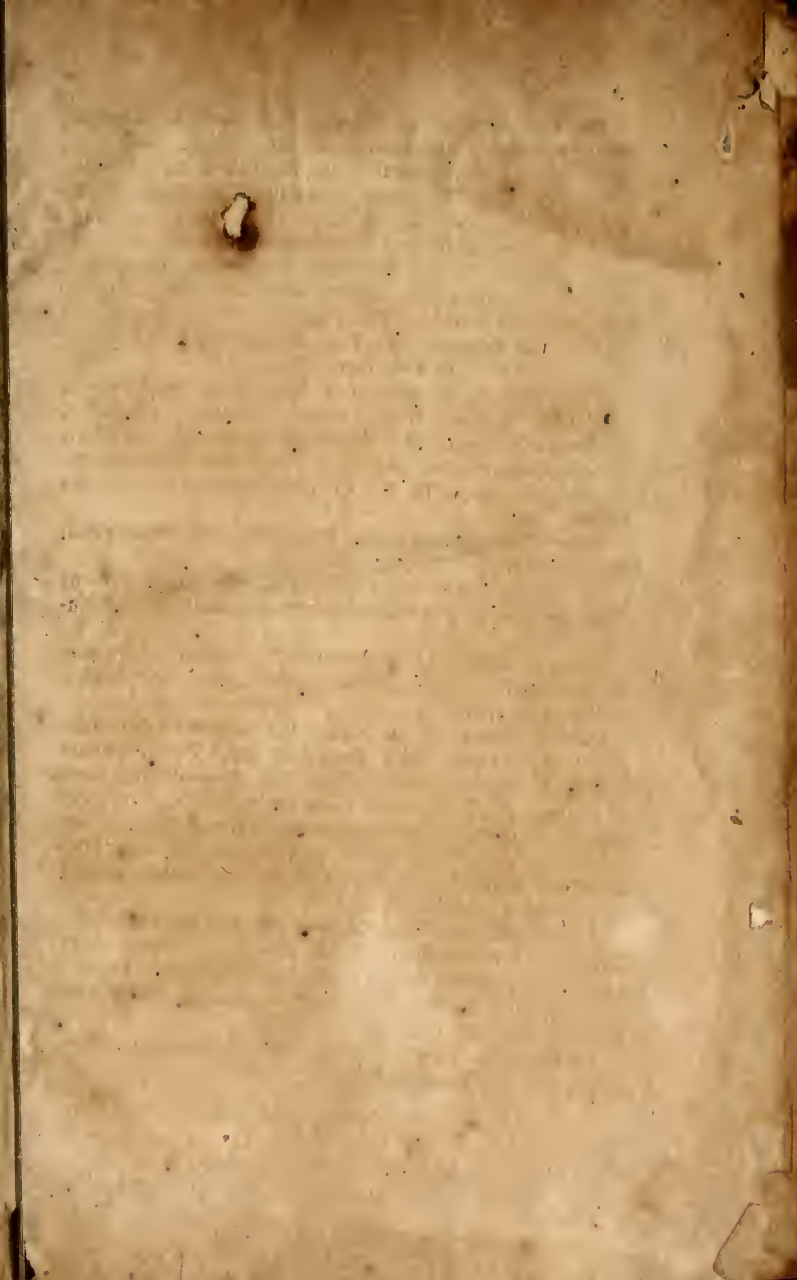
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